

THE HISTORY
OF BRITISH INDIA,
BY
MILL & WILSON.

IN TEN VOLUMES.

VOL. III

THE HISTORY OF
BRITISH INDIA.

BY JAMES MILL, ESQ.

FIFTH EDITION WITH NOTES AND CONTINUATION,

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HISTORY

OF

BRITISH INDIA.

BOOK IV

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT, ON LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY,
OF ONE EXCLUSIVE COMPANY, IN THE YEAR 1708, TILL
THE CHANGE IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COMPANY,
BY THE ACT OF 13TH GEO III IN 1773

CHAPTER I

*The Constitution of the East India Company, its practical
Arrangements for the Conduct of Business, and Transac-
tions till the Conclusion of the War with France by the
Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle*

WHEN the competitors for Indian commerce were united into one corporate body, and the privilege of exclusive trade was founded on legislative authority, the business of the East India Company became regular and uniform. Their capital, composed of the shares of the subscribers, was a fixed and definite sum. Of the modes of dealing, adapted to the nature of the business, little information remained to be acquired. Their proceedings were reduced to an established routine, or a series of operations periodically recurring. A general description, therefore, of the plan upon which the Company conducted themselves, and a statement of its principal results, appear to comprehend every thing which falls within the design of a history of that commercial body, during a period of several years.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I

1708

BOOK IV deliberate with violence and animosity and exhibit all
 CHAP. I. confusion, precipitation, and imprudence, which are so
 commonly ascribed to the exercise of popular power

1708.

The actual result is extremely different from what the common modes of reasoning incite common minds to infer. Notwithstanding the power which, by the theory of the constitution, was thus reserved to the popular parts of the system, all power has centred in the Court of Directors; and the government of the Company has been an oligarchy in fact. So far from meddling too much, the Court of Proprietors have not attended to the common affairs even sufficiently for the business of inspection and the known principles of human nature abundantly secured that unfortunate result. To watch, to scrutinize, to inquire, is labour and labour is pain. To confide, to take for granted that all is well, is easy is exempt from trouble, and, to the great mass of mankind, comparatively delightful. On all ordinary occasions, on all occasions which present not a powerful motive to action the great mass of mankind are sure to be led by the soft and agreeable feeling. And if they who act have only sufficient prudence to avoid those occurrences which are calculated to rouse the people on account of whom they act, the people will allow them abundant scope to manage the common concerns in a way conformable to their own liking and advantage. It is thus that all constitutions, however democratically formed, have a tendency to become oligarchical in practice. By the numerous body who constitute the democracy the objects of ambition are beheld at so great a distance and the competition for them is shared with so great a number that in general they make but a feeble impression upon their minds: the small number on the other hand, intrusted with the management, feel so immediately the advantages, and their affections are so powerfully engaged by the presence of their object that they easily concentrate their views, and point their energies with perfect constancy in the selfish direction. The apathy and inattention of the people on the one hand and the interested activity of the rulers on the other are two powers, the action of which may always be counted upon; nor has the art of government as yet exemplified, however the science may or may not have discovered, any

certain means by which the unhappy effects of that action BOOK IV
may be prevented.¹

CHAP I

1708

For conducting the affairs of the Company, the Directors divided themselves into parties called Committees, and the business into as many separate shares²

The first was the Committee of Correspondence, of which the business was more confidential, as well as extensive, than that of any of the rest. Its duties were, to study the advices from India, and to prepare answers for the inspection of the Court of Directors to report upon the number of ships expedient for the trade of the season, and the stations proper for each to report upon the number of servants, civil and military, in the different stations abroad, on the demand for alterations, and the applications made for leave of absence, or leave to return all complaints of grievances, and all pecuniary demands on the Company, were decided upon, in the first instance, by this Committee, which nominated to all places, in the treasury, and in the secretary's, exammer's, and auditor's offices. It performed, in fact, the prime and governing business of the Company the rest was secondary and subordinate

The next Committee was that of Law-suits, of which the business was to deliberate and direct in all cases of litigation, and to examine the bills of law charges. It is not a little remarkable that there should be work of this description sufficient to engross the time of a committee

The third was the Committee of Treasury. Its business was to provide, agreeably to the orders of the Court, for the payment of dividends and interest on bonds, to negotiate the Company's loans, to purchase gold and silver for exportation to affix the Company's seal to bonds and

¹ Not in the East India Company alone, in the Bank of England also, the committee of who's similar, company has always prevailed. Nor will the changes be found to differ in any joint-stock association in the history of British Commerce. Not the does experience contribute to the dangerous nature of the people's being always easier to grasp at too much power than to give it up. In regard to gold & silver, we are not to put them really to exercise that degree of, nor the sound exercise of which gold & silver must absolutely require.

² The management is committed to an official meeting on the business of the Company, called for by the Board of Directors, and transmitted officially by the Court of Directors of which the only vote is given in the House of Commons. View of the Government of British India, p. 100.

BOOK IV other deeds; to examine monthly or oftener, the balance
 CHAP. I. of cash and to decide, in the first instance, on applica-
 1708. tions respecting the loss of bonds, on pecuniary questions
 in general, and the delivery of unregistered diamonds and
 ballion.

The Committee of Warehouses was the fourth. The business of importation was the principal part of its charge. It framed the orders for the species of goods of which the investment or importation was intended to consist: it had the superintendence of the servants employed in the inspection of the purchases; determined upon the modes of shipping and conveyance; superintended the landing and warehousing of the goods; arranged the order of sales and deliberated generally upon the means of promoting and improving the trade.

The fifth was the Committee of Accounts of whose duties the principal were to examine bills of exchange and money certificates to compare advices with bills to examine the estimates, and accounts of cash and stock; and to superintend the office of the accountant, and the office of transfer in which are effected the transfers of the Company's stock and annuities, and in which the foreign letters of attorney for that purpose are examined.

A committee, called the Committee of Buying, was the sixth. Its business was, to superintend the purchase and preparation of the standard articles of export, of which lead and woollens constituted the chief: to contract with the dyers and other tradesmen; to audit their accounts, and keep charge of the goods till deposited in the ships for exportation.

The Committee of the House was the seventh, and its business was mostly of an inferior and ministerial nature. The alterations and repairs of the buildings, regulations for the attendance of the several officers and clerks, the appointment of the inferior servants of the House and the control of the secretary's accounts for domestic disbursements, were included in its province.

The eighth Committee, that of Shipping, had the charge of purchasing stores, and all other articles of export, except the grand articles appropriated to the Committee of Buying; the business of hiring ships, and of ascertaining the qualifications of their commanders and officers: of dis-

tributing the outward cargoes , of fixing seamen's wages ,
 of issuing orders for building, repairing, and fitting out the
 ships, packets, &c , of which the Company were proprietors ,
 and of regulating and determining the tonnage allowed for
 private trade, to the commanders and officers of the Com-
 pany's ships

BOOK IV
 CHAP I
 1708

The ninth was the Committee of Private Trade , and its occupation was to adjust the accounts of freight, and other charges, payable on the goods exported for private account, in the chartered ships of the Company , to regulate the indulgences to private trade homeward and by examining the commanders of ships, and other inquiries, to ascertain how far the regulations of the Company had been violated or obeyed

The tenth Committee was of a characteristic description It was the committee for preventing the growth of private trade Its business was to take cognisance of all instances in which the license granted by the Company for private trade was exceeded , to decide upon the controversies to which the encroachments of the private traders gave birth, and to make application of the penalties which were provided for transgression So closely, however, did the provinces of this and the preceding committee border upon one another , and so little, in truth, were their boundaries defined, that the business of the one was not unfrequently transferred to the other

Other transactions respecting the employment of troops, and the government of territory, required additions to the system of committees, when the Company afterwards became conquerors and rulers But of these it will be time to speak when the events arrive which produced them

The chairmen, as the name imports, preside in the Courts, whether of directors or proprietors , they are the organs of official communication between the Company and other parties, and are by office members of all the committees

The articles in which the export branch of the Indian trade has all along consisted are bullion, lead, quicksilver, woollen cloths, and hardware, of which the proportions have varied at various times

The official value of all the exports to India, for the year

BOOK IV 1708, the year in which the union of the two Companies
 CHAP. L was completed, exceeded not £60,915. The following year
 1708. it rose to £168,357. But from this it descended gradually
 till, in the year 1715, it amounted to no more than £38,007.
 It made a start, however in the following year; and
 the medium exportation for the first twenty years, subsequent
 to 1708, was £92,281 per annum.¹ The average
 annual exportation of bullion during the same years was
 £442,350.

The articles of which the import trade of the East India
 Company chiefly consisted, were calicoes and the other
 woven manufactures of India raw silk, diamonds, tea, por-
 celain, pepper drugs, and saltpetre. The official value of
 their imports in 1708 was £423,257 and their annual ave-
 rage importation for this and the nineteen following years
 was £768,042. At that period, the official value assigned
 to goods at the Custom House differed not greatly from
 the real value and the statements which have been made
 by the East India Company of the actual value of their
 exports and imports for some of those years, though not
 according with the Custom House accounts from year to
 year probably from their being made up to different periods
 in the year yet on a sum of several years pretty nearly
 coincide. The business of sale is transacted by the East
 India Company in the way of auction. On stated days, the
 goods, according to the discretion of the Directors, are put
 up to sale at the India House and transferred to the highest
 bidder.

At first the Company built and owned the ships employed
 in their trade. But in the progress and subdivision of com-
 merce, ship-owning became a distinct branch of business;
 and the Company preferred the hiring of ships, called char-
 tering. It was in hired or chartered ships, accordingly
 that from this time the trade of the Company was chiefly
 conveyed; and a few swift-sailing vessels, called packets,
 more for the purpose of intelligence than of freight, formed
 with some occasional exceptions, the only article of ship-

¹ Custom House Accounts. See H. Charles With with's T. M. p. 9.

² Try for example the sum of the parts & 1 every year, from 1711, to
 H. Charles Withworth T. M. and that in the Company accounts; the
 table for instance No. 7 in the Appendix to Mr. Hargreaves's History of
 European Commerce with India. See also, the 10 ages in France. It was of
 View of Plans for British India, p. 200.

ping which they properly called their own This regulation set free a considerable portion of the funds or resources of the Company, for direct traffic, or the simple transactions of buying and selling¹

BOOK IV
CHAP I
1708

That part of the business of the Company which was situated in India, was distinguished by several features which the peculiar circumstances of the country forced it to assume The sale, indeed, of the commodities imported from Europe, they transacted in the simplest and easiest of all possible ways, namely, by auction, the way in which they disposed of Indian goods in England. At the beginning of this trade, the English, as well as other European adventurers, used to carry their commodities to the interior towns and markets, transporting them in the hackeries of the country, and established factories or warehouses, where the goods were exposed to sale During the confusion, however, which prevailed, while the empire of the Moguls, was in the progress of dissolution, the security which had formerly existed, imperfect as it was, became greatly impaired, and, shortly after the union of the two Companies, a rule was adopted, not to permit any of the persons in the Company's service, or under their jurisdiction, to remove far into the inland country, without leave obtained from the Governor and Council of the place to which they belonged According to this plan, the care of distributing the goods into the country, and of introducing them to the consumers, was left to the native and other independent tribes

For the purchase, collection, and custody of the goods, which constituted the freight to England, a complicated system of operations was required. As the state of the country was too low in respect of civilisation and of wealth, to possess manufacturers and merchants, on a large scale, capable of executing extensive orders, and delivering the goods contracted for on pre-appointed days, the Company were under the necessity of employing their own agents to collect throughout the country, in such quantities as presented themselves, the different articles of which the cargoes to Europe were composed Places of reception were required, in which the goods might be collected, and ready upon the arrival of the ships, that the expense of demur-

¹ Ninth bye-law of the Company, in Russel's Collection of Statutes

BOOK IV

CHAP. I.

1708.

rage might be reduced to its lowest terms. Warehouses were built; and these, with the counting-houses, and other apartments for the agents and business of the place, constituted what were called the factories of the Company. Under the disorderly and inefficient system of government which prevailed in India, deposits of property were always exposed, either to the rapacity of the government, or under the weakness of the government, to the hands of depredators. It was always, therefore, an object of importance to build the factories strong, and to keep the inmates armed, and disciplined for self-defence, as perfectly as circumstances would admit. At an early period, the Company even fortified those stations of their trade and maintained professional troops, as often as the negligence permitted, or the assent could be obtained, of the kings and governors of the countries in which they were placed.

Of the commodities collected for the European market, that part, the acquisition of which was attended with the greatest variety of operations, was the produce of the loom. The weavers, like the other laborious classes of India, are in the lowest stage of poverty being always reduced to the bare means of the most scanty subsistence. They must at all times, therefore, be furnished with the materials of their work, or the means of purchasing them and with subsistence while the piece is under their hands. To transact in this manner with each particular weaver to watch him that he may not sell the fabric which his employer has enabled him to produce, and to provide a large supply is a work of infinite detail, and gives employment to a multitude of agents. The European functionary who, in each district, is the head of as much business as it is supposed that he can superintend, has first his banyan, or native secretary through whom the whole of the business is conducted: the banyan hires a species of broker called a gomastah, at so much a month: the gomastah repairs to the aurung, or manufacturing town which is assigned as his station, and there fixes upon a habitation, which he calls his catchery: he is provided with a sufficient number of jons, a sort of armed servants, and hircaraha, messengers or letter carriers, by his employer: there he immediately despatches about the place to summon to him the dallals, pycars and weavers: the dallals and pycars are two sets of

brokers, of whom the pycârs are the lowest, transacting the business of detail with the weavers, the dallâls again transact business with the pycârs the gomastah transacts with the dallâls, the banyan with the gomastah, and the Company's European servant with the banyan The Company's servant is thus five removes from the workman, and it may easily be supposed that much collusion and trick, that much of fraud towards the Company, and much of oppression towards the weaver, is the consequence of the obscurity which so much complication implies¹ Besides his banyan, there is attached to the European agent a mohurrer, or clerk, and a cash-keeper, with a sufficient allowance of peons and hucaahs Along with the gomastah is despatched in the first instance as much money as suffices for the first advance to the weaver, that is, as suffices to purchase the materials, and to afford him subsistence during part at least of the time in which he is engaged with the work The cloth, when made, is collected in a warehouse, adapted for the purpose, and called a kottah Each piece is marked with the weaver's name, and when the whole is finished, or when it is convenient for the gomastah, he *holds a kottah*, as the business is called, when each piece is examined, the price fixed, and the money due upon it paid to the weaver This last is the stage at which chiefly the injustice to the workman is said to take place, as he is then obliged to content himself with fifteen or twenty, and often thirty or forty per cent less than his work would fetch in the market This is a species of traffic which could not exist but where the rulers of the country were favourable to the dealer, as everything, however, which increased the productive powers of the labourers added directly in India to the income of the rulers, their protection was but seldom denied

The business of India was at this time under the government of three Presidencies, one at Bombay, another at

¹ The obstinate adherence of the natives to their established customs, renders it not easy to quit the track which on any occasion they have formed, and, under the ignorance of their manners and character, which distinguishes the greater proportion of the Company's servants, it would be mischievous to attempt it. Where the agent, however, is intelligent, and acquainted with the language and manners of the people, he does simplify and improve the business to a certain degree, and were it performed by men who had an interest to establish themselves in the country, and who would make it a business, it would gradually acquire that rational form which the interest of a rational people would recommend

BOOK IV Madras, and a third at Calcutta, of which the last had
 CHAP. I been created so lately as the year 1707 the business at
 1706 Calcutta having, till that time, been conducted under the
 government of the Presidency of Madras. These Presi-
 dencies had as yet no dependence upon one another each
 was absolute within its own limits, and responsible only
 to the Company in England. A Presidency was composed
 of a President or Governor and a Council both appointed
 by commission of the Company. The council was not any
 fixed number, but determined by the views of the Direc-
 tors; being sometimes nine, and sometimes twelve, according
 to the presumed importance or extent of the business to
 be performed. The Members of the Council were the
 superior servants in the civil or non-military class, pro-
 moted according to the rule of seniority unless where
 directions from home prescribed aberration. All power
 was lodged in the President and Council jointly nor could
 anything be transacted, except by a majority of votes.
 When any man became a ruler he was not however de-
 barred from subordinate functions and the members of
 council, by natural consequence, distributed all the most
 lucrative offices among themselves.¹ Of the offices which
 any man held, that which was the chief source of his gain
 failed not to be the chief object of his attention and the
 business of the Council, the duties of governing, did not,
 in general, engross the greatest part of the study and care
 of a Member of Council. It seldom, if ever happened, that
 less or more of the Members of Council were not appointed
 as chiefs of the more important factories under the Presi-
 dency and by their absence, were not disqualified for
 assisting in the deliberations of the governing body.
 The irresistible motive thus afforded to the persons
 intrusted with the government, to neglect the business

¹ There were no lucrative offices, & many years under the Company's administration. For some time the salaries of the chief of Bengal and Fort St. George did not exceed £700 per annum, and those of the merchants and factors, one half £300 and £200 per annum. Even as late as the acquisition of all real power in Bengal, the salary of a councillor was £500 per annum, of a factor £200, of a writer as then lately borne well, £100. The large wages made by the Company's servants, arose from their engaging in the internal trade and also in the trade by sea to all eastern ports north of the equator except Timor and Formosa (see the 1st l. p. 31). In either of these branches of trade much depended upon confidence of persons, and so for the Company's servants were dependent upon the principal, with whom it proved more to employ them. The official emoluments attached to any station, were in all cases of small amount.—W

of government, occupied a high rank among the causes to which the defects at that time in the management of the Company's affairs in India may, doubtless, be ascribed. Notwithstanding the equality assigned to the votes of all the Members of the Council, the influence of the President was commonly sufficient to make the decisions agreeable to his inclination. The appointment of the Members to the gainful offices after which they aspired, was in a considerable degree subject to his determination, while he had it in his power to make the situation even of a member of the Council so uneasy to him, that his continuance in the service ceased to be an object of desire. Under the notion of supporting authority, the Company always lent an unwilling ear to complaints brought by a subordinate against his superior, and in the case of councilmen disposed to complain, it seldom happened, that of the transactions in which they themselves had been concerned, a portion was not unfit to be revealed.

The powers exercised by the Governor or President and Council, were, in the first place, those of masters in regard to servants over all the persons who were in the employment of the company, and as the Company were the sole master, without fellow or competitor, and those under them had adopted their service as the business of their lives, the power of the master, in reality, and in the majority of cases, extended to almost everything valuable to man. With regard to such of their countrymen, as were not in their service, the Company were armed with powers to seize them, to keep them in confinement, and send them to England, an extent of authority which amounted to confiscation of goods, to imprisonment, and what to a European constitution is the natural effect of any long confinement under an Indian climate, actual death¹. At an early period of the Company's history, it had been deemed necessary to intrust them with the powers of martial law, for the government of the troops which they maintained in defence of their factories and presidencies; and by a charter of Charles II., granted them in 1661, the Presidents and Councils in their factories were empowered

¹ Close imprisonment, debarring a prisoner from air, light, and exercise altogether, has probably never been inflicted in India by an English government, and its effects, even if it had been, would not be necessarily more injurious to life than similar treatment elsewhere — W

BOOK IV settled in India, French, Dutch, and Portuguese and
 CHAP. I. partly at least at Bombay and Surat, of Topasses, or persons whom we may denominate Indo-Portuguese, either
 1708. the mixed produce of Portuguese and Indian parents, or converts to the Portuguese from the Indian faith. These were troops disciplined and uniformed besides whom, the natives were already to a small extent, employed by the Company in military service, and called Sepoys, from the Indian term Sipahi, equivalent to soldier. They were made to use the musket, but remained chiefly armed in the fashion of the country with sword and target. They wore the Indian dress, the turban, cabay or vest, and long drawers and were provided with native officers according to the custom of the country; but ultimately all under English command. It had not as yet been attempted to train them to the European discipline, in which it was possible to render them so expert and steady but considerable service was derived from them; and under the conduct of European leaders they were found capable of facing danger with great constancy and firmness. What at this time was the average number at each presidency is not particularly stated. It is mentioned, that at the time when the presidency was established at Calcutta in 1707 an effort was made to augment the garrison to 300 men.

The President was the organ of correspondence by letter or otherwise, with the country powers. It rested with him to communicate to the Council the account of what he thus transacted, at any time and in any form, which he deemed expedient and from this no slight accession to his power was derived.

The several denominations of the Company's servants in India were writers, factors, junior merchants, and senior merchants. The business of the writers, as the term, in some degree, imports, was that of clerking, with the inferior details of commerce; and when dominion succeeded, of government. In the capacity of writers they remained during five years. The first promotion was to the rank of factor; the next to that of junior merchant; in each of which the period of service was three years. After this extent of service they became senior merchants. And out of the class of senior merchants were taken by

seniority the members of the Council, and when no particular appointment interfered, even the presidents themselves¹

BOOK IV

CHAP I

1708

Shortly after the first great era, in the history of the British commerce with India, the nation was delivered from the destructive burden of the long war with France which preceded the treaty of Utrecht and though the accession of a new family to the throne, and the resentments which one party of statesmen had to gratify against another, kept the minds of men for a time in a feverish anxiety, not the most favourable to the persevering studies and pursuits on which the triumphs of industry depend, the commerce and the wealth of the nation made rapid advances. The town of Liverpool, which was not formed into a separate parish till 1699, so rapidly increased, that in 1715 a new parish, with a church, was erected, and it doubled its size between 1690 and 1726. The town of Manchester increased in a similar proportion, and was computed in 1727 to contain no less than 50,000 inhabitants. The manufactures of Birmingham, which thirty years before was little more than a village, are stated as giving maintenance at that time to upwards of 30,000 individuals². In 1719, a patent was granted to Sir Thomas Lombe, for his machine for throwing silk, one of the first of those noble efforts of invention and enterprise which have raised this country to unrivalled eminence in the useful arts. The novelty and powers of this machine, the model of which he is said to have stolen from the Piedmontese, into whose manufactories he introduced himself in the guise of a common workman, excited the highest admiration, and its parts and performances are described to us by the historians of the time with curious exactness, 26,586 wheels, 97,476 movements, which worked, 73,726 yards of organzine silk by every revolution of the water-wheel, 318,504,960 yards in one day and a night a single water-wheel giving motion to the whole machine, of which any separate movement might be stopped without obstructing the rest, and one fire communicating warmth by heated air to every part of the manufactory, not less

¹ See Ninth Report, Select Committee, 1783, p. 11

² Anderson's History of Commerce, Anno 1727

BOOK IV than the eighth part of a mile in length.¹ London was
 CHAP. I. increased by several new parishes. And from the year
 1708-32. 1708 to the year 1730, the imports of Great Britain, according to the valuation of the custom-house, had increased from 4,608,063*l.* to 7,80,019*l.*; the exports from 6,069,089*l.* to 11,074,135*l.*²

During this period of national prosperity the imports of the East India Company rose from 493,237*l.*, the importation of 1708, to 1,009,769*l.*, the importation of 1730. But the other and not the least important, the export branch of the Company's trade, exhibited another result. As the exportation of the year 1708 was exceedingly small, compared with that of 1709 and the following years, it is fair to take an average of four years from 1706 to 1709 (two with a small, two an increased exportation), producing 105,773*l.* The exportation of the year 1730 was 135,484*l.* while that of 1709 was 168,357*l.*; that of 1710, 120,310*l.* that of 1711 161,874*l.* and that of 1712, 142,320*l.*

With regard to the rate of profit, during this period, or the real advantage of the Indian trade, the Company for part of the year 1703, divided at the rate of five per cent. per annum to the proprietors upon 3,163,200*l.* of capital for the next year eight per cent. for the two following years, nine per cent. and thence to the year 1710, ten per cent. per annum. In the year 1717 they paid dividends on a capital of 3,1910-0*l.*, at the same rate of ten per cent. per annum, and so on till the year 1713. That year the dividend was reduced to eight per cent. per annum, at which rate it continued till the year 1715.

In the year 1712, on the petition of the Company the period of their exclusive trade was extended by act of parliament, from the year 1700, to which by the last regulation it stood confined, to the year 1733, with the usual allowance of three years for notice should their privileges be withdrawn.

In the year 1710, they obtained a proclamation against interlopers. Their complaints it seems, were occasioned by the enterprises of British subjects trading to India

¹ Anderson's History of Commerce, A.D. 1719.

² See Charles White's work, Tables, part I. p. 74.

³ Third Letter from the Secret Committee of the House of Commons on the State of the East India Company in 1773, p. 73.

⁴ 10 Ann., 2^o. See Collection of Statutes, p. 62.

under foreign commissions As this proclamation answered not the wishes of the Company, nor deterred their countrymen from seeking the gains of Indian traffic, even through all the disadvantages which they incurred by intrusting their property to the protection of foreign laws, and the fidelity of foreign agents, they were able, in 1718, to procure an act of parliament for the punishment of all such competitors British subjects, trading from foreign countries, and under the commission of a foreign government, were declared amenable to the laws for the protection of the Company's rights, the Company were authorized to seize merchants of this description when found within their limits, and to send them to England, subject to a penalty of 500*l* for each offence ¹

BOOK IV

CHAP. I.

1708-23

The Company's present alarm for their monopoly arose from the establishment for trading with India, which under the authority of the Emperor, was formed at his port of Ostend After the peace of Utrecht, which bestowed the Netherlands upon the house of Austria, the people of those provinces began to breathe from the distractions, the tyranny, and the wars which had so long wasted their fruitful country Among other projects of improvement, a trade to India was fondly embraced Two ships, after long preparations, sailed from Ostend in the year 1717, under the passports of the Emperor, and several more soon followed their example The India Companies of Holland and England were in the highest degree alarmed, and easily communicated their fears and agitations to their respective governments These governments not only expostulated, and to the highest degree of importunity, with the Emperor himself, but, amid the important negotiations of that diplomatic period, hardly any interest was more earnestly contended for in the discussions at the courts both of Paris and Madrid ² The Dutch captured some of the Ostend East India ships The Emperor, who dreamed of an inundation of wealth from Indian trade, persevered in his purpose, and granted his commission of reprisal to the merchants of Ostend

¹ Anderson's History of Commerce, A.D. 1716 and 1718, and Collection of Statutes

² See Cox's Memoirs of Sir Robert and Lord Walpole, and History of the House of Austria, *ad annos*

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CHAP. I.

1703-23.

In the beginning of 1720 they sent no fewer than six vessels to India, and as many the year that followed. The English East India Company pressed the Government with renewed terrors and complaints. They asserted that, not only the capital, with which the trade was carried on, was to a great degree furnished by British subjects, but the trade and navigation were conducted by men who had been bred up in the trade and navigation of the British Company. They procured, in 1721, another act of parliament, enforcing the penalties already enacted; and as this also failed in producing the intended effects, another act was passed in the spring of 1723 prohibiting foreign adventures to India, under the penalty of triple the sum embarked declaring all British subjects found in India and not in the service, or under the license of the East India Company guilty of a high misdemeanour and empowering the Company to seize, and send them home for punishment. The Emperor had been importuned, by the adventurers of Ostend, for a charter to make them an exclusive company but, under the notion of saving appearances in some little degree with England and Holland, or the maritime powers, as they were called in the diplomatic language of the day he had induced them to trade under passports as individuals. In the month of August, however of 1723, the charter was granted in less than twenty-four hours the subscription-books of the Company were filled up and in less than a month the shares were sold at a premium of fifteen per cent. Notwithstanding the virulent opposition of all the other nations, already engaged in the Indian trade, the Ostend Company experienced the greatest success. At a meeting of Proprietors in 1726, the remaining instalment on the subscriptions, equal to a dividend of thirty-three and one-third per cent., was paid up from the gains of the trade. But by this time political difficulties pressed upon the Emperor. He was abandoned by his only ally the King of Spain, and opposed by a triple alliance of France, England, and Holland. To give satisfaction to this potent confederacy and to obtain their support to the pragmatic sanction, or the guarantee of his dominions to his daughter and only child, he submitted to sacrifice the Ostend Company. To save ap-

pearances, and consult the imperial dignity, nothing was stipulated in words, except that the business of the Ostend Company should be suspended for seven years, but all men understood that, in this case, suspension and extinction were the same

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CHAP I
1708-23

By the act of 7 Geo I c 5, the Company were authorized to borrow money on their common seal, to the amount of the sums lent by them to government, if not beyond the sum of five millions sterling in the whole. They were permitted, however to borrow solely for the purposes of their trade. They were expressly interdicted from receiving moneys in any of the capacities of a banker, and for that purpose several restrictive clauses were inserted in the act; they were not to borrow any sums payable on demand, or at a shorter date than six months, they were not to discount any bills, or to keep books or cash for any persons sole or corporate, or otherwise than for the real business of the Company¹

When the Company commenced operations in India, upon the new foundation on which their affairs were placed by the grand arrangements in 1708, Shah Aulum, successor of Aurungzeb, was Emperor of the Moguls. His second son Azeem-oos-Shaun had been appointed Viceroy of Bengal before the death of Aurungzeb, and having bent his chief attention to the amassing of a treasure, against the impending contest between the competitors for the throne, he accepted the bribes of the company, and granted them proportional privileges. Under his authority they had purchased, in 1698, the Zemindarship of the three towns of Sutanutty, Calcutta, and Govindpore, with their districts. When Azeem-oos-Shaun left Bengal to assist his father, in the war which ensued upon the death of Aurungzeb, he left his son Ferokhsar his deputy. In 1712 Shah Aulum died, Azeem-oos-Shaun lost his life in the struggle for the succession, and Ferokhsar, by the help of two able chiefs, the Syed brothers, gained the throne. The government of Bengal now devolved upon Jaffier Khan, and the company experienced a change. This chief, of Tartar extraction, was born at Boorhanpore, in the Deccan, and rose to eminence in the latter part of the reign of Aurungzeb, by whom he had been appointed dewan (or comptroller of

BOOK IV the revenues) of Bengal. It would appear that he¹ was nominated, by Shah Aulum, to the viceroyalty of Bengal, shortly after his accession to the throne but it is probable that, during the short reign of that prince, the appointment never took place as, at the time of his death, Ferokhsier was in possession of the province. Upon the departure, however of Ferokhsier to ascend the imperial throne, Jaffier Khan was invested with entire authority as subahdar of Bengal and the English Company along with his other subjects, began speedily to feel the effects of his severe and oppressive administration.²

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1708-23.

In 1713, the first year of the reign of Ferokhsier the President of Calcutta applied to the Company at home for leave to send an embassy with a handsome present, to the Mogul durbar in hopes of obtaining greater protection and privileges. Two of the Company's factors, under the direction of an Armenian merchant, named Serband, set out for Delhi and the Emperor who had received the most magnificent account of the presents of which they were the bearers, ordered them to be escorted by the governors of the provinces through which they were to pass.

They arrived at the capital on the eighth of July 1715 after a journey of three months; and, in pursuance of the advice which had been received at Calcutta, applied themselves to gain the protection of Khan Dowran,³ a nobleman in favour with the Emperor and in the interest of Emir Juma. Whatever was promoted by the interest

¹ Orme's History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in India, I. 17—19. Meer M. takharree I. 17 and 2nd.

² H is named Camdorch by M. Orme (Ibid. p. 30), who erroneously makes Housain instead of Abdoolah Khan, Vizir.—M. It has already been intimated, that great distinction is to be made in the merit of Orme as an historian. For all that regards the transactions of the British in India he may be relied on: he was present at much that he relates; he was acquainted with the principal persons engaged, and maintained an active correspondence with them; and he made diligent use of many valuable public and private documents in the English language; but it is evident that he was no Orientalist; and, consequently had no access to written truth information: he regarded transactions partly Indian; therefore he is by no means safe authority: he constantly misstates names, and confounds persons and events. Khan Dowran is the name of the nobleman whom he call by the singular corruption Camdorch, and besides the misstatement of one Ajed brother for the other here prints I out, he is wrong as to the name of the father of Ferokhsier's bride, who was Ajit Rich, not Jemwant Rich, as he call him, and he here as before takes part in the events of this period. Next he derives his knowledge from active historians, in much more accurate Aurangzeb's acceptors, (Ibid. The Rajasthan, I. 431).—W

of Emir¹ Jumla was opposed by that of the vizir The influence also of Jaffier Khan was exerted to defeat an application, which tended to abridge his authority, and impeach his government The embassy and costly present of the Company were doomed to imperial neglect, had not an accident, over which they had no control, and the virtue of a public-spirited man, who preferred their interest to his own, opened an avenue to the grace of Ferokhser The intemperance of that prince had communicated to him a secret disease, from which the luxury of the harem does not always exempt Under the unskilful treatment of Indian physicians, the disorder lingered and the Emperor's impatience was augmented, by the delay which it imposed upon the celebration of his marriage with the daughter of the Raja of Jodpore A medical gentleman of the name of Hamilton accompanied the embassy of the English Company The Emperor was advised to make trial of his skill a cure was the speedy consequence The Emperor commanded his benefactor to name his own reward and the generous Hamilton solicited privileges for the Company¹ The festival of the marriage, however, ensued, during which it would not have been decorous to importune with business the imperial mind', and six months elapsed before the ambassadors could present their petition It was delivered in January, 1716, and prayed, "that the cargoes of English ships, wrecked on the Mogul's coast, should be protected from plunder, that a fixed sum should be received at Surat in lieu of all duties, that three villages, contiguous to Madras, which had been granted and again resumed by the government of Arcot, should be restored in perpetuity, that the island of Diu, near the port of Masulipatam, should be given to the Company, for an annual rent, that all persons in Bengal, who might be indebted to the Company, should be delivered up to the presidency on the first demand, that a passport (*dustuck*, in the language of the country), signed by the president of Calcutta should exempt the goods which it specified from stoppage or examination by the officers of the Bengal

¹ This incident is related with some additional circumstances by Scott, History of Aurungzebe's Successors, p. 139 From the manner in which he speaks of the Emperor's disease (he speaks very vaguely), he appears not to have thought it of the sort which is generally represented the question is of small importance

BOOK IV government and that the Company should be permitted
 CHAP. I. to purchase the Zemindarship of thirty-seven towns, in
 1708-23. the same manner as they had been authorized by Azem-
 oos-Shaun to purchase Calcutta, Suttanuttv and Govind-
 pore. The power of the vizir could defeat the grants of
 the Emperor himself and he disputed the principal
 articles. Repeated applications were made to the Em-
 peror and at last the vizir gave way when mandates were
 issued confirming all the privileges for which the petition
 had prayed. To the disappointment, however and grief of
 the ambassadors, the mandates were not under the seals of
 the Emperor but only those of the vizir the authority of
 which the distant viceroys would be sure to dispute. It was
 resolved to remonstrate, how delicate soever the ground on
 which they must tread and to solicit mandates to which
 the highest authority should be attached. It was now the
 month of April, 1710, when the Emperor at the head of
 an expedition against the Selks, began his march towards
 Lahore. No choice remained but to follow the camp.
 The campaign was tedious. It heightened the disensions
 * between the favourites of the Emperor and the vizir; the
 ambassadors found their difficulties increased and con-
 templated a long and probably a fruitless negotiation,
 when they were advised to bribe a favourite eunuch in the
 seraglio. No sooner was the money paid than the vizir
 himself appeared eager to accomplish their designs, and
 the patents were issued under the highest authority.
 There was a secret, of which the eunuch had made his
 advantage. The factory of Surat, having lately been op-
 pressed by the Mogul governor and officers, had been
 withdrawn by the Presidency of Bombay as not worth
 maintaining. It was recollected by the Moguls, that, in
 consequence of oppression, the factory of Surat had once
 before been withdrawn immediately after which an
 English fleet had appeared had swept the sea of Mogul
 ships, and inflicted a deep wound upon the Mogul trea-
 sury. A similar visitation was now regarded as a cer-
 tain consequence and, as many valuable ships of the
 Moguls were at sea, the event was deprecated with pro-
 portional ardour. This intelligence was transmitted to
 the eunuch, by his friend the viceroy of Guzerat. The
 eunuch knew what effect it would produce upon the mind

of the vizir, obtained his bribe from the English and then communicated to the vizir the expectation prevalent in Guzerat of a hostile visit from an English fleet. The vizir hastened to prevent such a calamity, by granting satisfaction. The patents were despatched, and the ambassadors took leave of the Emperor in the month of July 1717, two years after their arrival.

The mandates in favour of the Company produced their full effect in Guzerat and the Deccan but in Bengal, where the most important privileges were conceded, the subahdar, or nabob as he was called by the English, had power to impede their operations. The thirty-seven towns which the Company had obtained leave to purchase, would have given them a district extending ten miles from Calcutta on each side of the river Hoogley, where a number of weavers, subject to their own jurisdiction, might have been established. The viceroy ventured not directly to oppose the operation of an imperial mandate, but his authority was sufficient to deter the holders of the land from disposing of it to the Company, and the most important of the advantages aimed at by the embassy was thus prevented. The nabob, however, disputed not the authority of the President's dustucks, a species of passport which entitled the merchandise to pass from duty, stoppage, or inspection, and this immunity, from which the other European traders were excluded, promoted the vent of the Company's goods¹.

The trade of the Company's servants occasioned another dispute. Besides the business which the factors and agents of the Company were engaged to perform on the Company's account, they had been allowed to carry on an independent traffic of their own, for their own profit. Every man had in this manner a double occupation and pursuit, one for the benefit of the Company, and one for the benefit of himself. Either the inattention of the feebly interested Directors of a common concern had overlooked the premium for neglecting that concern, which was thus bestowed upon the individuals intrusted with it in India, or the shortness of their foresight made them count this neglect a smaller evil than the additional salaries which their servants, if debarred from other sources of emolument, would probably

¹ Orme, *Hist ut supra*, ii 20—25

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CHAP. I.

1730

require. The President of Calcutta granted his dastucks for protecting from the duties and taxes of the native government, not only the goods of the Company but also the goods of the Company's servants and possibly the officers of that government were too little acquainted with the internal affairs of their English visitants to remark the distinction. The Company had appropriated to themselves in all its branches, the trade between India and the mother country. Their servants were thus confined to what was called "the country trade," or that from one part of India to another. This consisted of two branches, maritime and inland; either that which was carried on by ships from one port of India to another and from the ports of India to the other countries in the adjacent seas or that which was carried on by land between one town or province and another. When the dastucks of the President, therefore were granted to the Company's servants, they were often granted to protect from duties, commodities, the produce of the kingdom itself, in their passage by land from one district or province to another. This, Jaffier Khan, the viceroy declared it his intention to prevent as a practice at once destructive to his revenue, and ruinous to the native traders, on whom heavy duties were imposed and he commanded the dastucks of the President to receive no respect, except for goods, either imported by sea, or purchased for exportation. The Company remonstrated, but in vain. Nor were the pretensions of their servants exempt from unpleasant consequences as the pretext of examining whether the goods were really imported by sea, or really meant for exportation, often produced those interferences of the officers of revenue, from which it was so great a privilege to be saved. Interrupted and disturbed in their endeavours to grasp the inland trade the Company's servants directed their ardour to the maritime branch and their superior skill soon induced the merchants of the province Moora, Armenians and Hindus, to freight most of the goods, which they exported, on English bottoms. Within ten years from the period of the embassy the shipping of the port of Calcutta increased to 10,000 tons.

The year 1730 was distinguished by transactions of considerable moment in the history of the Company. In England a new sovereign had but lately ascended the throne;

an active and powerful Opposition made a greater use of the press, and more employed the public mind as a power in the state, than any party which had gone before them, success rendered the trading interest enterprising and high-minded, intellect was becoming every day more enlightened, more penetrating, more independent, and experience testified the advantages of freedom in all the departments of trade

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CHAP I
1730

Though the gains of the East India Company, had they been exactly known, would not have presented an object greatly calculated to inflame mercantile cupidity, yet the riches of India were celebrated as proverbially great, the boastings of the Company, in the representations they had made of the benefit derived to the nation from trading with India, had confirmed the popular prejudice, and a general opinion seems to have prevailed, that the British subjects at large ought to be no longer debarred from enriching themselves in the trade which was invidiously, and, it seemed imprudently, reserved for the East India Company

Three years were still unexpired of the period of the Company's exclusive charter yet the plans of those who desired a total alteration in the scheme of the trade were moulded into form, and a petition, grounded upon them, was presented to the legislature so early as February, 1730

As the payment of 3,200,000*l* which the Company had advanced to government at an interest of five per cent. was a condition preliminary to the abolition of their exclusive privileges, the petitioners offered to lend to government an equal sum on far more favourable terms. They proposed to advance the money in five instalments, the last at Lady-day in 1733, the date of the expiration of the Company's charter, requiring, till that period, interest on the money paid at the rate of four per cent., but offering to accept of two per cent for the whole sum, from that time forward whence, they observed, a saving would accrue to the public of 92,000*l* per annum, worth, at twenty-five years' purchase, 2,500,000*l*¹

¹ See a distinct summary of the proposals, and of the arguments *pro* and *con*, in Anderson's History of Commerce, A D 1730. For the proceedings in Parliament, consult the Journals, with Boyer's Political State, and Hansard's Parliamentary History

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CHAP. I.

1730.

For the more profitable management of this branch of the national affairs, the following was the scheme which they proposed. They would constitute the subscribers to this original fund a company for the purpose of opening the trade, in its most favorable shape, to the whole body of their countrymen. It was not intended that the Company should trade upon a joint stock, and in their corporate capacity but that every man in the nation, who pleased, should trade in the way of private adventure. The Company were to have the charge of erecting and maintaining the forts and establishments abroad; and for this, and for other expenses, attending what was called "the enlargement and preservation of the trade, it was proposed that they should receive a duty of one per cent. on all exports to India, and of five per cent. on all imports from it. For ensuring obedience to this and other regulations, it should be made lawful to trade to India only under the license of the Company. And it was proposed that thirty-one years, with three years notice, should be granted as the duration of the peculiar privileges.

It appears from this account, that the end which was proposed to be answered, by incorporating such a company was the preservation and erection of the forts, buildings, and other fixed establishments, required for the trade in India. This was its only use, or intent; for the business of trading, resigned to private hands, was to be carried on by the individuals of the nation at large. And, if it were true, as it has been always maintained, that for the trade of India, forts and factories are requisite of such a nature as no individual, or precarious combination of individuals, is competent to provide this project offers peculiar claims to consideration and respect. It promised to supply that demand which has always been held forth, as peculiar to Indian trade, as the grand exigency which, distinguishing the traffic with India from all other branches of trade, rendered monopoly advantageous in that peculiar case, how much soever proved to be injurious in others. While it provided for this real or pretended want, it left the trade open to all the advantages of private enterprise, private vigilance, private skill, and private economy; the virtues by which individuals thrive and nations prosper and it afforded an interest

to the proposed Company, in the careful discharge of its duty, as its profits were to increase in exact proportion with the increase of the trade, and of course, with the facilities and accommodation by which the trade was promoted

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CHAP. I.

1730

As no trade was to be carried on by the Company, the source, whence dividends to the proprietors would arise, was the interest to be received from Government, and the duties upon the exports and imports and as the territorial and other duties belonging to the forts and establishments in India were deemed sufficient to defray the expense of those establishments, this source was described as competent to yield an annual return of five or six per cent upon the capital advanced Under absence of risk, and the low rate of interest at the time, this was deemed a sufficient inducement to subscribe Had the pernicious example, of lending the stock of trading companies to Government, been rejected, a very small capital would have sufficed to fulfil the engagements of such a company, and either the gains upon it would have been uncommonly high, or the rate of duties upon the trade might have been greatly reduced

The friends of this proposition urged, that, as the change which had taken place in the African trade, from monopoly to freedom, was allowed to have produced great national advantages, it was not to be disputed, that a similar change in the India trade would be attended with benefits so much the greater, as the trade was more valuable, that it would produce a larger exportation of our own produce and manufactures to India, and create employment for a much greater number of ships and seamen, that it would greatly reduce the price of all Indian commodities to the people at home, that it would enable the nation to supply foreign markets with Indian commodities at a cheaper rate, and, by consequence, to a larger amount, that new channels of traffic would thence be opened, in Asia and America, as well as in Europe, that a free trade to India would increase the produce of the customs and excise, and "thereby lessen the national debt," that it would introduce a much more extensive employment of British shipping from one part of India to another, from which great profit would arise, and that it

BOOK IV would prevent the nation from being deprived of the re-
 CHAP. I. sources of those who, for want of permission or opportunity
 1780 at home were driven to employ their skill and capital in
 the Indian trade of other countries.

The attention of the nation seems to have been highly excited. Three petitions were presented to the House of Commons, from the merchants, traders, &c., of the three chief places of foreign trade in England, London, Bristol, and Liverpool, in behalf of themselves and all other His Majesty's subjects, praying that the trade to India might be laid open to the nation at large, and that they might be heard by their counsel at the bar of the House. The press, too, yielded a variety of productions, which compared with one another the systems of monopoly and free trade, and showed, or pretended to show the preference due to the last. Though competition might appear to reduce the gains of individuals, it would, by its exploring sagacity its vigilance, address, and economy even with an equal capital, undoubtedly increase the mass of business in other words, the annual produce; that is to say the riches and prosperity of the country. The superior economy the superior despatch, the superior intelligence and skill of private adventure, while they enable the dealers to traffic on cheaper terms, were found by experience to yield a profit on the capital employed, not inferior to what was yielded by monopoly. by the business, for example of the East India Company, whose dividends exceeded not eight per cent. Whatever was gained by the monopolizing company in the high prices at which it was enabled to sell, or the low prices at which it was enabled to buy was all lost by its dilatory negligent, and wasteful management. This was not production, but the reverse; it was not enriching a nation, but preventing its being enriched¹.

The Company manifested their usual ardour in defence of the monopoly. They magnified the importance of the trade; and asked if it was wise to risk the loss of known advantages, of the greatest magnitude, in pursuit of others

¹ It was asserted by the merchant and, as far as appears, without contradiction, that foreigners possessed at least three parts of the stock of the East India Company; and one-third of their gain was thus made for the benefit of other countries. *Political State*, a. d. 1779. ANNALS. 212.

which were only supposed, they alleged that it was envy which stimulated the exertions of their opponents, coveting the gains of the Company, but unable to produce any instance of misconduct, without going forty years back for the materials of their interested accusations the Company employed an immense stock in trade, their sales amounting to about three millions yearly The customs, about £300,000 per annum, for the service of Government, ought not to be sacrificed for less than a certainty of an equal supply, and the maintenance of the forts and factories cost £300,000 a year Where, they asked, was the security, that an open trade, subject to all the fluctuation of individual fancy, one year liable to be great, another to be small, would afford regularly an annual revenue of £600,000, for customs and forts? By the competition of so many buyers in India, and of so many sellers in Europe, the goods would be so much enhanced in price in the one place, and so much reduced in the other, that all profit would be destroyed, and the competitors, as had happened in the case of the rival companies, would end with a scene of general ruin

Under the increased experience of succeeding times, and the progress of the science of national wealth, the arguments of the Company's opponents have gained, those of the Company have lost, a portion of strength To exaggerate the importance of the Indian trade, and, because it is important, assume that the monopoly ought to remain, is merely to say, that when a thing is important, it ought never to be improved, in things of no moment society may be allowed to make progress, in things of magnitude that progress ought ever to be strenuously and unbendingly opposed This argument is, unhappily, not confined to the case of the East India Company Whoever has attentively traced the progress of government, will find that it has been employed by the enemies of improvement, at every stage, and only in so far as it has been disregarded and contemned, has the condition of man ascended above the miseries of savage life Instead of the maxim, "A thing is important, therefore it ought not to be improved," reason would doubtless suggest that the more anything is important, the more its improvement should be studied and pursued When a thing is of small importance, a

BOOK IV small inconvenience may suffice to dissuade the pursuit of
 CHAP. I. its improvement. When it is of great importance, a great
 ———— inconvenience alone can be allowed to produce that un-
 1780. happy effect. If it be said, that where much is enjoyed,
 care should be taken to avoid its loss this is merely
 to say that man ought to be prudent; which is very
 true, but surely authorizes no such inference, as that im-
 provement, in matters of importance should be always
 opposed.

The Company quitted the argument, to criminate the
 arguers. The objections to the monopoly were the impure
 and odious offspring of avaricious envy. But, if the mono-
 poly as the opponents said, was a bad thing, and free
 trade a good thing; from whatever motive they spoke
 the good thing was to be adopted, the evil to be shunned.
 The question of their motives was one thing the truth or
 falsehood of their positions another. When truth is spoken
 from a bad motive, it is no less truth; nor is it less entitled
 to its command over human action, than when it is spoken
 from the finest motive which can enter the human breast.
 If otherwise, an ill-designing man would enjoy the wonder-
 ful power, by recommending a good course of action to
 render a bad one obligatory upon the human race.

If, as they argued, the East India Company had a large
 stock in trade, that was no reason why the monopoly
 should remain. The capital of the mercantile body of
 Great Britain was much greater than the capital of the
 East India Company and of that capital, whatever propor-
 tion could find a more profitable employment in the Indian
 trade, than in any other branch of the national industry
 the Indian trade would be sure to receive.

With regard to the annual expense of the forts and fac-
 tories, it was asserted by the opponents of the Company
 and, as far as appears, without contradiction, that they
 defrayed their own expense, and supported themselves.

As to the customs paid by the East India Company all
 trade paid customs, and if the Indian trade increased under
 the system of freedom, it would pay a greater amount of
 customs than it paid before; if it decreased, the capital
 now employed in it would seek another destination, and
 pay customs and taxes in the second channel as well as the
 first. To lay stress upon the customs paid by the Com-

pany, unless to take advantage of the gross ignorance of a minister, or of a parliament was absurd.

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CHAP I

1780.

The argument, that the competition of free trade would make the merchants buy so dear in India, and sell so cheap in England, as to ruin themselves, however depended upon, was contradicted by experience. What hindered this effect, in trading with France, in trading with Holland, or any other country? Or what hindered it in every branch of business within the kingdom itself? If the two East India Companies ruined themselves by competition, why reason from a case which bore no analogy whatsoever to the one under contemplation, while the cases which exactly corresponded, those of free trade, and boundless competition, led to a conclusion directly the reverse. If two East India Companies ruined one another, it was only an additional proof, that they were ineligible instruments of commerce. The ruin proceeded, not from the nature of competition, but the circumstances of the competitors. Where two corporate bodies contended against one another, and the ruin of the one left the field vacant to the other, their contention might very well be ruinous, because each might hope, that, by exhausting its antagonist in a competition of loss, it would deliver itself from its only rival. Where every merchant had not one, but a multitude of competitors, the hope was clearly vain of wearing all of them out by a contest of loss. Every merchant, therefore, would deal on such terms alone, as allowed him the usual, or more than the usual rate of profit, and he would find it his interest to observe an obliging, rather than a hostile deportment towards others, that they might do the same toward him. As it is this principle which produces the harmony and prosperity of trade in all other cases in which freedom prevails, it remained to be shown why it would not produce them in the Indian trade.

The subject was introduced into parliament, and discussed. But the advocates for the freedom of the trade were there overruled, and those of monopoly triumphed.

In order to aid the parliament in coming to such a decision as the Company desired, and to counteract in some degree the impression likely to be made by the proposal of their antagonists to accept of two 'per cent for the whole of the loan to Government, they offered to reduce

BOOK IV the interest from five to four per cent., and, as a premium
 CHAP. I. for the renewal of their charter, to contribute a sum of
 £200,000 to the public service. On these conditions it
 (1782. was enacted that the exclusive privileges should be pro-
 longed to Lady-day in the year 1708, with the usual addi-
 tion of three years' notice, and a proviso that nothing in
 this arrangement should be construed to limit their power
 of continuing a body corporate, and of trading to India on
 their joint stock with other of their fellow-subjects, even
 after their exclusive privileges should expire.¹

On the ground on which the affairs of the East India Company were now established, they remained till the year 1744. From 1730 to that year the trade of the Company underwent but little variation. Of goods exported, the amount indeed was considerably increased; but as in this stores were included, and as the demand for stores, by the extension of forts, and increase of military apparatus, was augmented, the greater part of the increase of exports may be justly set down to this account. The official value of the goods imported had kept rather below a million annually sometimes indeed exceeding that sum, but commonly the reverse, and some years to a considerable amount; with little or no progressive improvement from the beginning of the period to the end. The exports had increased from £133,484, the exportation of the first year to £476,274 that of the last. But the greater part of the increase had taken place after the prospect of wars and the necessity of military preparations when a great addition was demanded in the article of stores.

In the year 1732, the Company first began to make up annual accounts; and from that period we have regular statements of the actual purchase of their exports, and the actual sale of their imports. In the year 1732, the sales of the Company amounted to £1,040,996. In 1774 they amounted to £1,097,000; and in all the intermediate years were less. The quantity of goods and stores paid for in the year 1732 amounted to £103,230; the quantity paid

¹ As a corporate body is seldom hurt by its modesty, the Company alleged that they had, right, by providing Act of Parliament, to the monopoly in perpetuity; but, to avoid disputes, they consented to waive this claim for a certainty of thirty-six years. 2 Geo II. 16. Collection of Statutes, p. 72. Anderson, ed. an. 1730. Political Hist. lib. 214.
² Sir Charles Whitworth's Tables, part II. p. 9.

for in 1744, to £231,318 The quantity of bullion exported in 1732, was £393,377, the quantity exported in 1744, was £458,544. The quantity, then, of goods exported was increased, and in some degree, also, that of bullion, while the quantity of goods imported remained nearly the same It follows, that the additional exportation, not having been employed in the additional purchase of goods, must have been not merchandise, but stores It is to be observed also, that in the amount of sales, as exhibited in the Company's accounts, were included at this time the duties paid to Government, stated at thirty per cent, a deduction which brings the amount of the sales to nearly the official valuation of the imports at the Custom-house¹

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1744.

In 1732, the Company were obliged to reduce their dividends from eight to seven per cent per annum, and at this rate they continued till 1744, in which year they returned to eight per cent² The Dutch East India Company, from 1730 to 1736, divided twenty-five per cent per annum upon the capital stock, in 1736, twenty per cent, for the next three years, fifteen per cent per annum, for the next four, twelve and a half per annum, and, in 1744, as much as fifteen per cent³ The grand advantage of the English East India Company, in the peculiar privilege of having their trade exempted from duties in Bengal and in the other concessions obtained by their embassy to the court of the Mogul, had thus produced no improvement in the final result, the ultimate profits of the trade

The Company seem to have been extremely anxious to avoid a renewal of the discussion on the utility or fitness of the monopoly, and, for that purpose, to forestal the excitement of the public attention by the approach to the conclusion of the privileged term. At a moment accordingly, when no one was prepared to oppose them, and in the middle of an expensive war, when the offer of any pecuniary facilities was a powerful bribe to the Govern-

¹ Third Report of the Committee of Secresy, on the State of the East India Company (House of Commons, 1773), p 75

² Ibid p 73

³ Histoire Philosoph et Polit des Etablissements, etc, dans les Deux Indes, par Guillaume Thomas Raynal, liv ii. sect. 21 Table at the end of the volume

BOOK IV ment, they made a proposal to lend to it the sum of one
 CHAP. I. million, at an interest of three per cent, provided the
 1746. period of their exclusive privileges should be prolonged to
 three years' notice after Lady-day 1760. On these con-
 ditions, a new Act was passed in 1744 and to enable
 the Company to make good their loan to Government,
 they were authorised to borrow to the extent of a million
 of their bonds.

On the death of the Emperor Charles VI, in the year
 1740, a violent war kindled by competition for the imper-
 ial throne, and for a share in the spoils of the house of
 Austria, had begun in Germany. In this contest, France
 and England, the latter involved by her Hanoverian inter-
 ests, had both engaged as auxiliaries and in the end had
 become nearly or rather altogether principals. From 1739
 England had been at war with Spain, a war intended to
 annul the right claimed and exercised by the Spaniards, of
 searching English ships on the coast of America, for con-
 traband goods. England and France, though contending
 against one another with no ordinary efforts, in a cause
 ostensibly not their own, abstained from hostilities di-
 rectly on their own account, till 1744; when the two Go-
 vernments came to mutual declarations of war. And it
 was not long before the most distant settlements of
 the two nations felt the effects of their destructive con-
 tentions.

On the 14th³ of September 1740, a French fleet anchored
 four leagues to the south of Madras and landed five or
 six hundred men. On the 15th the fleet moved along the
 coast, while the troops marched by land; and about noon
 it arrived within cannon-shot of the town. Labourdon-
 nais, who commanded the expedition, then landed, with
 the rest of the troops. The whole force destined for the
 siege, consisted of 1000 or 1100 Europeans, 400 Sepoys,
 and 400 Caffres, or blacks of Madagascar brought from
 the island of Mauritius. 1700 or 1800 men, all sorts in-
 cluded, remained in the ships.⁴

³ Anderson's History of Commerce vol. ii. 1744; Collection of Statutes, p. 84,
 17 Geo. II. 17

⁴ Mémoires pour Labourdonnais, L. 121. M. Orme L. 67 says the 17th the
 difference being that of the styles. The old style it appears, was used by the
 English historians.

McCauley, *at supra*, p. 121. Orme p. 67

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CHAP. I.
1746

Madras had, during the space of 100 years, been the principal settlement of the English on the Coromandel coast. The territory belonging to the Company extended five miles along the shore, and was about one mile in breadth. The town consisted of three divisions. The first, denominated the white town, in which resided none but the English, or Europeans under their protection, consisted of about fifty houses, together with the warehouses and other buildings of the Company, and two churches, one an English, the other a Roman Catholic church. This division was surrounded with a slender wall, defended with four bastions, and four batteries, but weak and badly constructed, decorated with the title of Fort St George. Contiguous to it, on the north side, was the division in which resided the Armenian, and the richest of the Indian merchants, larger, and still worse fortified than the former. And on the northern side of this division was a space, covered by the hovels of the country, in which the mass of the natives resided. These two divisions constituted what was called the black town. The English in the colony exceeded not 300 men, of whom 200 were the soldiers of the garrison. The Indian Christians, converts or descendants of the Portuguese, amounted to three or four thousand, the rest were Armenians, Mohammedans, or Hindus, the last in by far the largest proportion, and the whole population of the Company's territory amounted to about 250,000. With the exception of Goa and Batavia, Madras was, in point both of magnitude and riches, the most important of the European establishments in India.¹

The town sustained the bombardment for five days, when the inhabitants, expecting an assault, capitulated. They had endeavoured to save the place, by the offer of a ransom, but Labourdonnais coveted the glory of displaying French colours on the ramparts of fort St George. He engaged, however, his honour to restore the settlement,

¹ A Letter to a proprietor of India Stock, published in 1750, by a person who was evidently concerned in the government of Madras at the time, states, that the soldiers were not only few, but of a very indifferent description, that the town was ill provided with ammunition stores, and that its fortifications were in a ruinous condition. the necessity for rigid economy at home, having withheld the means of maintaining the establishment abroad in a state of efficiency.—V

BOOK IV and content himself with a moderate ransom; and on
 CHAP. I. these terms he was received into the town.¹ He had not
 1745. lost so much as one man in the enterprise. Among the
 English four or five were killed by the explosion of the
 bombs, and two or three houses were destroyed, Labour-
 donnais protected the inhabitants, with the care of a man
 of virtue; but the magazines and warehouses of the Com-
 pany as public property, were taken possession of by the
 commissaries of the French.²

Labourdonnais, with the force under his command, had
 arrived in India in the month of June, 1740. At that time
 the settlements of France in the Indian seas were under
 two separate governments, analogous to the English Pre-
 sidencies; one established at the Isle of France the other
 at Pondicherry. Under the former of these governments
 were placed the two islands; the one called the Isle of
 France, about sixty leagues in circumference, the other
 that of Bourbon, of nearly the same dimensions. These
 islands, lying on the eastern side of Madagascar between
 the nineteenth and twentieth degrees of latitude were dis-
 covered by the Portuguese, and by them called Cerne and
 Mascarenhas. In 1660 seven or eight Frenchmen settled
 on the island of Mascarenhas five years afterwards they
 were joined by twenty-two of their countrymen; the
 remains of the French colony which was destroyed in
 Madagascar sought refuge in this island; and when it
 became an object of some importance, the French changed
 its name to the island of Bourbon. The island of Cerne
 was, at an early date taken possession of by the Dutch,
 and by them denominated the island of Mauritius, in
 honour of their leader Maurice Prince of Orange; but,
 after the formation of their establishment at the Cape of
 Good Hope, was abandoned as useless. The French, who
 were subject to great inconvenience by want of a good
 harbour on the island of Bourbon, took possession of it in
 1700 and changed its name from the Isle of Mauritius to
 the Isle of France. Both islands are fruitful, and pro-

¹ The memoirs cited in the preceding note describe Deschamps's attack took place at home. In regard to the payment of 100,000 livres given by the Government of Madras, the same memoirs to the extent of 100,000 livres. It is estimated, were presented to the French commander. The price of this ransom was 100,000 livres.

² M. de Labourdonnais. 1740, L. 126-127. Once 166-167.

duce the corn of Europe, along with most of the tropical productions. Some plants of coffee, accidentally introduced from Arabia, succeeded so well on the island of Bourbon, as to render that commodity the staple of the island.¹

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Pondicherry was the seat of the other Indian government of the French. It had under its jurisdiction the town and territory of Pondicherry, and three factories, or *Comptoirs*, one at Mahé, not far south from Tellicherry on the Malabar coast, one at Kanikal on one of the branches of the Coleroon on the Coromandel coast, and one at Chandernagor on the river Hoogley in Bengal.²

The form of the government at both places was the same. It consisted, like the English, the form of which was borrowed from the Dutch, of a Governor, and a Council, the Governor being President of the Council, and allowed, according to the genius of the government in the mother country, to engross from the council a greater share of power than in the colonies of the English and Dutch. The peculiar business of the Governor and Council was, to direct, in conformity with instructions from home, all persons in the employment of the Company, to regulate the expenditure, and take care of the receipts, to administer justice, and in general to watch over the whole economy of the establishment. Each of the islands had a Council of its own, but one Governor sufficed for both.³

In 1745, Labourdonnais was appointed Governor of the islands. This was a remarkable man. He was born at St Malo, in 1699, and was entered on board a ship bound for the South Sea at the age of ten. In 1713, he made a voyage to the East Indies and the Philippine islands, and availed himself of the presence of a Jesuit, who was a passenger in the ship, to acquire a knowledge of the mathematics. After performing several voyages to other parts of the world, he entered for the first time, in 1719, into the service of the East India Company, as second lieutenant of a vessel bound to Surat. He sailed again to India, as first lieutenant in 1723, and a third time, as second

¹ Raynal, li. 271. Mémoire pour Labourdonnais, i 88, 95. Orme, i 92.

² Mémoire, ut supra, p 94. Raynal, ut supra, p 217.

³ Mémoire pour Labourdonnais, i 95. Mémoire contre Dupleix, p 8.

BOOK IV captain in 1724. In every voyage he found opportunity
CHAP. I. to distinguish himself by some remarkable action and
 1746. during the last he acquired, from another passenger an
 officer of engineers, a knowledge of the principles of fortification and tactics. He now resolved to remain in India, and to navigate a vessel on his own account. He is said to have been the first Frenchman who embarked in what is called the country trade in which he conducted himself with so much skill, as to realize in a few years a considerable fortune. The force of his mind procured him an ascendancy wherever its influence was exerted a violent quarrel was excited between some Arabian and Portuguese ships in the harbour of Mocha, and blood was about to be shed, when Labourdonnais interposed, and terminated the dispute to the satisfaction of the parties. So far did his service on this occasion recommend him to the Viceroy of Goa, that he invited him into the service of the King of Portugal, gave him the command of a King's ship, the order of Christ, the rank of Fidalgo, and the title of agent of his Portuguese Majesty on the coast of Coromandel. In this situation he remained for two years, and perfected his knowledge of the traffic and navigation of India; after which, in 1733, he returned to France. Apprized of his knowledge and capacity the French government turned its eyes upon him as a man well qualified to aid in raising the colonies in the eastern seas from that state of depression in which they remained. In 1734 he was nominated Governor General of the isles of France and Bourbon, where he arrived in June 1735. So little had been done for the improvement of these islands, that the people few in number were living nearly in the state of nature. They were poor without industry and without the knowledge of almost any of the useful arts. They had neither magazine, nor hospital, neither fortification, nor defensive force military or naval. They had no roads; they had no beasts of burden, and no vehicles. Everything remained to be done by Labourdonnais and he was capable of everything. With the hand to execute as well as the head to contrive, he could construct a ship from the keel he performed the functions of engineer of architect, of agriculturist he broke bulls to the yoke constructed vehicles, and made roads he apprenticed blacks to the few handicrafts whom

he carried out with him he prevailed upon the inhabitants to cultivate the ground, and introduced the culture of the sugar-cane and indigo he made industry and the useful arts to flourish, contending with the ignorance, the prejudices, and the inveterate habits of idleness, of those with whom he had to deal, and who opposed him at every step To introduce any degree of order and vigilance into the management even of the hospital which he constructed for the sick, it was necessary for him to perform the office of superintendent himself, and for a whole twelvemonth he visited it regularly every morning Justice had been administered by the Councils, to whom that function regularly belonged, in a manner which produced great dissatisfaction During eleven years that Labourdonnais was Governor, there was but one law-suit in the Isle of France, he himself having terminated all differences by arbitration

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The vast improvements which he effected in the islands did not secure him from the disapprobation of his employers The captains of ships, and other visitants of the islands, whom he checked in their unreasonable demands, and from whom he exacted the discharge of their duties, filled the ears of the Company's Directors with complaints, and the Directors, with too little knowledge for accurate judgment, and too little interest for careful inquiry, inferred culpability, because there was accusation He returned to France in 1740, disgusted with his treatment, and fully determined to resign the government but the minister refused his consent It is said that being asked by one of the Directors of the Company, how it was, that he had conducted his own affairs so prosperously, and those of the Company so much the reverse, he replied that he had conducted his own affairs according to his own judgment those of the Company according to that of the Directors¹

Perceiving, by the state of affairs in Europe, that a rupture was approaching between France and the maritime powers, his fertile mind conceived a project for striking a fatal blow at the English trade in the East Imparting the design to some of his friends, he projected that he should be aided with funds sufficient to equip, as ships of

¹ Raynal, liv 4, sect. 20

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war six vessels and two frigates with which, being on the spot when war should be declared, he could sweep the seas of the English commerce, before a fleet could arrive for its protection. He communicated the scheme to the ministry by whom it was embraced, but moulded into a different form. They proposed to send out a fleet, composed partly of the King's and partly of the Company's ships, with Labourdonnais in the command and though he foresaw opposition from the Company to whom neither he nor the scheme was agreeable, he refused not to lend himself to the ministerial scheme. He sailed from L Orient on the 5th of April, 1741 with five ships of the Company one carrying fifty-six two carrying fifty one, twenty-eight; and one, sixteen guns; having on board about 1000 sailors, and 500 soldiers. Two King's ships had been intended to make part of his squadron; but they to his great disappointment, received another destination. He also found that, of the ships' crews, three-fourths had never before been at sea and that of either soldiers or sailors hardly one had ever fired a cannon or a musket. His mind was formed to contend with, rather than yield to difficulties and he began immediately to exercise his men with all his industry or rather with as much industry as their love of ease, and the opposition it engendered, rendered practicable. He arrived at the Isle of France on the 14th of August, 1741 where he learned that Pondicherry was menaced by the Mahrattas, and that the islands of France and Bourbon had sent their garrisons to its assistance. After a few necessary operations to put the islands in security he sailed for Pondicherry on the 2nd of August, where he arrived on the 30th of September. The danger there was blown over but the settlement at Mahé had been eight months blockaded by the natives. He repaired to the place of danger chastised the enemy; re-established the factory; and then returned to the islands to wait for the declaration of war between France and England. There he soon received the mortifying orders of the Company to send home all the vessels under his command. Upon this he again requested leave to resign, and again the minister refused his consent. His vires were now confined to his islands, and he betook himself with his pristine ardour to their improvement. On the 14th of

September, 1744, in the midst of these occupations, the intelligence arrived of the declaration of war between France and England, and filled his mind with the mortifying conception of the important things he now might have achieved, but which the mistaken policy or perversity of his employers had prevented

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Unable to do what he wished, he still resolved to do what he could. He retained whatever ships had arrived at the islands, namely, one of forty-four guns, one of forty, one of thirty, one of twenty-six, one of eighteen, and another of twenty-six, which was sent to him from Pondicherry with the most pressing solicitations to hasten to its protect on. The islands, at which unusual scarcity prevailed, were destitute of almost every requisite equipment of the ships, and their captains, chagrined at the interruption of their voyages, seconded the efforts of the governor with all the ill-will it was safe for them to show. He was obliged to make even a requisition of negroes to man the fleet. In want of hands trained to the different operations of the building and equipping of ships, he employed the various handicrafts whom he was able to muster, and by skilfully assigning to them such parts of the business as were most analogous to the operations of their respective trades, by furnishing them with models which he prepared himself, by giving the most precise directions, and with infinite diligence superintending every operation in person, he overcame in some measure the difficulties with which he was surrounded. In the meantime, intelligence was brought by a frigate, that five of the Company's ships which he was required to protect, and which he was authorized by the King to command, would arrive at the islands in October. They did not arrive till January, 1746. The delay had consumed a great part of the provisions of the former ships, those which arrived had remaining for themselves a supply of only four months, they were in bad order, and there was no time, nor materials, nor hands to repair them. Only one was armed. It was necessary they should all be armed, and the means for that purpose were totally wanting. The ships' crews, incorporated with the negroes and the handicrafts, Labourdonnais formed into companies, he taught them the manual exercise, and military movements, showed them how to scale a wall, and apply

1743.

petards exercised them in firing at a mark and employed the most dexterous among them in preparing themselves to use a machine, which he had invented, for throwing with mortars grappling-hooks for boarding to the distance of thirty toises.

He forwarded the ships, as fast as they were prepared, to Madagascar where they might add to their stock of provisions, or at any rate save the stock which was already on board; and he followed with the last on the 24th of March. Before sailing from Madagascar a storm arose by which the ships were driven from their anchorage. One was lost; and the rest, greatly damaged, collected themselves in the bay of a desert island on the coast of Madagascar. Here the operations of repairing were to be renewed; and in still more unfavourable circumstances. To get the wood they required, a road was made across a marsh, a league in circumference the rains were incessant; disease broke out among the people; and many of the officers showed a bad disposition; yet the work was prosecuted with so much efficiency that in forty-eight days the fleet was ready for sea. It now consisted of nine sail, containing 3342 men, among whom were 200 blacks, and from three to four hundred sick.

In passing the island of Ceylon, they received intelligence that the English fleet was at hand. Labourdonnais summoned his captains on board, many of whom had shown themselves ill-disposed in the operation of industry but all of whom manifested an eagerness to fight. As Labourdonnais understood that he was superior to the English in number of men, but greatly inferior in weight of metal, he declared his intention to gain, if possible the wind, and to board. On the 6th of July on the coast of Coromandel, the English fleet appeared to windward, advancing with full sail towards the French.¹

¹ This seems to be the same invention, exactly with that of Captain Mundy for throwing a rope on board vessels threatened with shipwreck. See Essay on the Preservation of Shipwrecked Persons, by G. W. Mundy Esq. and Mémotre pour Labourdonnais, l. 32. The obvious expedient of training the sailors for land operations, is of high importance and it argues little of the heads of those who have conducted enterprises in which the sailors might have been, or were to be employed for land operations, if at such training has so rarely been resorted to. How much more instructive than that of the larger detail of war is the contemplation of the intricacy the industry and the perseverance of such men as Labourdonnais, in the arduous critical tactics in which he was placed!

² For the above details respecting Labourdonnais, see Mémotre, vii. iv. 2, pp. 19—22.

Immediately after the declaration of war between France and England, a fleet, consisting of two ships of sixty guns each, one of fifty, and a frigate of twenty, commanded by Commodore Barnet, had been despatched to India. It cruized, at first, in two divisions, one in the Straits of Sunda, the other in the Straits of Malacca, the places best fitted for intercepting the French traders, of which it captured four. After rendezvousing at Batavia, the united fleet appeared on the coast of Coromandel, in the month of July, 1745. The Governor of Pondicherry, the garrison of which at that time consisted of only 436 Europeans, prevailed on the Mogul Governor of the province, to declare Pondicherry under his protection, and to threaten Madras, if the English fleet should commit hostilities on any part of his dominions. This intimidated the government of Madras, and they requested Commodore Barnet to confine his operations to the sea, who accordingly left the coast of Coromandel, to avoid the stormy season, which he passed at Mergui, a port on the opposite coast, and returned in the beginning of 1746. His fleet was now reinforced by two fifty gun ships, and a frigate of twenty guns from England, but one of the sixty gun ships had become unfit for service, and, together with the twenty gun frigate, went back to England. Commodore Barnet died at Fort St David in the month of April, and was succeeded by Mr Peyton, the second in command, who was cruising in the southward of Fort St David, near Negapatnam, when he descried the enemy just arriving on the coast¹.

Labourdonnais formed his line, and waited for the English, who kept the advantage of the wind, and frustrated his design of boarding. A distant fight began about four in the afternoon, and the fleets separated for want of light about seven. Next morning Mr Peyton called a council of war, and it was resolved, because the sixty gun ship was leaky, to sail for Trincomalee. The enemy lay to the whole day, expecting that the English, who had the wind, would return to the engagement. The French, however, were in no condition to pursue, and sailed for Pondicherry, at which they arrived on the eighth day of the month².

¹ Orme, i pp 60—63

² Orme, i. pp 62, 63 Mémoire, ut supra, pp 83—90 Mr Orme says th

BOOK IV Joseph Francis Duplex was at that time Governor of
 CHAP. I. Pondicherry; having succeeded to the supreme command
 1746. of the French settlements in 1742. To this man are to be traced some of the most important of the modern revolutions in India. His father was a farmer-general of the revenues, and a Director of the East India Company. He had set his heart upon rearing his son to a life of commerce and his education, which was liberal, was carefully directed to that end. As the study of mathematics, of fortification, and engineering, seemed to engross his attention too exclusively his father in 1715 sent him to sea and he made several voyages to the Indies and America. He soon imbibed the taste of his occupation, and, desiring to pursue the line of maritime commerce his father recommended him to the East India Company and had sufficient interest to send him out in 1720 as first Member of the Council of Pondicherry. Impatient for distinction, the young man devoted himself to the business of his office and became in time minutely acquainted with the commerce of the country. He embarked in it, on his own account a species of adventure from which the poverty of the servants of the French Company had in general debarred them. In this station he continued for ten years, when his knowledge and talents pointed him out as the fittest person to superintend the business of the Company at their settlement at Chandernagor in Bengal. Though Bengal was the richest part of India, the French

challenge of Labourdonnais was only feint, and that he was to no condition to renew the engagement. He himself, in the *Mémoire* says that it was but feint, and that *ce fut avec un extrême regret qu'il se la Duplex lui échapper*—M

This assertion can scarcely be credited, as, although the French armament was more numerous than the English, the former consisted of nine the latter of five ships yet of the latter four exceeded in number and weight of guns, the largest vessel in Labourdonnais' fleet. It is very probable therefore, that Duplex was right.—W

The character he manifested at school bears a great resemblance to what is reported of N. poleon Bonaparte. La pension avec laquelle il se livra à l'étude des mathématiques, le dévot qu'elle lui inspira pour tous les arts aimables qui ne lui paraissent que frivoles, le caractère taciturne, d'ailleurs, et modeste, et qu'elle parut lui donner et la retraite qu'il lui fit faire beaucoup plus tôt que les autres ordinaires de la société. *Mémoire pour Duplex*, p. 2. The resemblance in character with these men of another remarkable personage I recollect the Great of Prussia, while very young, perhaps, worth it remark. His sister says, Il avoit de l'esprit; son humeur étoit sombre et taciturne; il passoit long temps, avant que de répondre; mais, en répondant il répandoit toute la finesse de son esprit. *Mémoires de Sophie Wilhelmine de Prusse*. Margravine de Parthen, t. 2—22.

factory in that province had, from want of funds and from bad management, remained in a low condition. The colony was still to be formed, and the activity and resources of the new manager soon produced the most favourable changes. The colonists multiplied, enterprise succeeded to langour, Duplex on his own account entered with ardour into the country trade, in which he employed the inheritance he derived from his father, and had frequently not less than twelve vessels, belonging to himself and his partners, navigating to Surat, Mocha, Jedda, the Manillas, the Maldivias, Goa, Bussora, and the coast of Malabar. He realized a great fortune during his administration more than 2000 brick houses were built at Chandernagor. He formed a new establishment for the French Company at Patna, and rendered the French commerce in Bengal an object of envy to the most commercial of the European colonies.

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The reputation which he acquired in this situation pointed him out as the fittest person to occupy the station of Governor at Pondicherry. Upon his appointment to this chief command, he found the Company in debt, and he was pressed by instructions from home, to effect immediately a great reduction of expense.

The reduction of expense, in India, raising up a host of enemies, is an arduous and a dangerous task to a European governor. Duplex was informed that war was impending between France and the maritime powers. Pondicherry was entirely open to the sea, and very imperfectly fortified even towards the land. He proceeded, with his usual industry, to inquire, to plan, and to execute. Though expressly forbidden, under the present circumstances of the Company, to incur any expense for fortifications, he, on the prospect of a war with the maritime powers, made the works at Pondicherry a primary object. He had been struggling with the difficulties of narrow resources, and the strong temptation of extended views, about four years, when Labourdonnais arrived in the roads.¹

The mind of Duplex, though ambitious, active, and ingenious, seems to have possessed but little elevation. His vanity was excessive, and even effeminate, and he was not exempt from the infirmities of jealousy and re-

¹ Mémoire pour Duplex, pp 9—26

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venge. In the enterprise in which the fleet was destined to be employed, Labourdonnais was to reap the glory and from the very first he had reason to complain of the air of haughtiness and reserve which his rival assumed. As the English were warned out of the seas, and nothing was to be gained by cruising, Labourdonnais directed his thoughts to Madras. The danger however was great, so long as his ships were liable to be attacked, with the greater part of their crews on shore. He, therefore, demanded sixty pieces of cannon from Dupleix, to place him on a level in point of metal, with the English fleet, and resolved to proceed in quest of it. Dupleix alleged the danger of leaving Pondicherry deprived of its guns, and refused. With a very inferior reinforcement of guns, with a very inadequate supply of ammunition, and with water given him at Pondicherry so bad, as to produce the dysentery in his fleet, Labourdonnais put to sea on the 4th of August. On the 17th, he descried the English fleet off Negapatnam, and hoisted Dutch colours as a decoy. The English understood the stratagem, changed their course and fled. Labourdonnais says he pursued them all that day and the next; when, having the wind, they escaped. He returned to Pondicherry on the 23rd, much enfeebled by disease, and found all hearty co-operation on the part of the governor and council still more hopeless than before. After a series of unfriendly proceedings, under which he had behaved with a manly temperance after Dupleix had even commanded him to re-land the Pondicherry troops, he resolved to send the fleet, which he was still too much indisposed to command, towards Madras, for the double purpose, of seizing the vessels by which the people of Madras were preparing to send away the most valuable of their effects, and of ascertaining whether his motions were watched by the English fleet. The cruise was unskilfully conducted, and yielded little in the way of prize. It afforded presumption, however that the English fleet had abandoned the coast. Labourdon-

Labourdonnais (*Mémoire* I. 102.) does not state the number of the guns from Pondicherry with which he was thence to conduct himself. Orme I. 4. says, he obtained thirty or forty pieces; but it is a grievous defect of Mr Orme's history that he never gives his authorities.

Mémoire pour Labourdonnais, *et* supra, p. 110, and Orme p. 64. who here adopts the account of Labourdonnais.

nais saw, therefore, a chance of executing his plan upon Madras. He left Pondicherry on the 12th of September, and on the 14th commenced the operations, which ended, as we have seen, in the surrender of the place.

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It was in consequence of an express article in his orders from home, that Labourdonnais agreed to the restoration of Madras¹. But nothing could be more adverse to the views of Dupleix. He advised, he entreated, he menaced, he protested, Labourdonnais, however, proceeded with firmness to fulfil the conditions into which he had entered. Dupleix not only refused all assistance to expedite the removal of goods, and enable the ships to leave Madras before the storms which accompany the change of monsoon, he raised up every obstruction in his power, and even endeavoured to excite sedition among Labourdonnais' own people, that they might seize and send him to Pondicherry. On the night of the 13th of October, a storm arose, which forced the ships out to sea. Two were lost, and only fourteen of the crew of one of them were saved. Another was carried so far to the southward, that she was unable to regain the coast, all lost their masts, and sustained great and formidable injury. Disregarding the most urgent entreaties for assistance, Dupleix maintained his opposition. At last, a suggestion was made, that the articles of the treaty of ransom should be so far altered, as to afford time to the French, for removal of the goods, and Labourdonnais and the English, though with some reluctance, agreed, that the period of evacuation should be changed from the 15th of October to the 15th of January. This was all that Dupleix desired. Upon the departure of Labourdonnais, which the state of the season rendered indispensable, the place would be delivered into the hands of Dupleix, and he was not to be embarrassed with the fetters of a treaty².

¹ Il est expressément défendu au sieur de la Bourdonnais de s'emparer d'aucun établissement ou comptoir des ennemis pour le conserver. Mém. p. 105. This was signed by M. Orry, Contrôleur Général. It appears, by the orders both to Labourdonnais and Dupleix, that the French government and East India Company shrunk from all idea of conquest in India.—M.

The letter to the proprietors explains the purport of M. Labourdonnais' instructions more correctly. He was not to form any new settlement, and the only alternatives in his power with regard to Madras, were to restore or destroy it. The object of the French East India Company was to improve their existing settlements, at least before new ones were established.—W.

² Mémoire, ut supra, pp. 142—220. Orme, i. 69—72. Dupleix, in his ap-
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1748.

The remaining history of Labourdonnais may be shortly adduced. Upon his return to Pondicherry the opposition, which he had formerly experienced, was changed to open hostility. All his proposals for a union of councils and of resources were rejected with scorn. Three fresh ships had arrived from the islands; and, notwithstanding the loss occasioned by the storm, the force of the French was still sufficient to endanger if not to destroy the whole of the English settlements in India.¹ Convinced, by the counteraction which he experienced, that he possessed not the means of carrying his designs into execution, Labourdonnais acceded to the proposition of Dupleix that he should proceed to Achcen with such of the ships as were able to keep the sea, and return to Pondicherry after they were repaired, reserving five of them to Dupleix to carry out next year's investment to Europe. At its departure, the squadron consisted of seven ships, of which four were in tolerable repair; the rest were in such a condition that it was doubted whether they could reach Achcen; if this was impracticable, they were to sail for the islands. In conformity with this plan, Labourdonnais divided them into two parts. The first, consisting of the sound vessels, was directed to make its way to Achcen, without waiting for the rest; he himself remained with the second, with intention to follow if that were in his power. The first division out sailed, and soon lost sight

logy involves the cause of his opposition to Labourdonnais in mystery. It was secret, *parsooth*! And secret, too, of the ministry and the company! The disgrace, then, was tripartite. Great consolation to Labourdonnais! And great satisfaction to the nation! Le Sieur Dupleix, says the *Mémoire*, *revoit trop les ordres du ministre et ceux de la Compagnie pour oser publier ni ce qu'il lui étoit ordonné d'exécuter dans le plus profond secret* p. 87. The usual style of subterfuge and mystery this is ambiguous and equivocal. The word *ordres* may signify orders given to him to behave as he did to Labourdonnais; and this is the sense in which it is understood by Voltaire, who says, *Le gouverneur Dupleix, excusé dans ses Mémoires sur des ordres secrets d'obéir*—*Mais il n'aurait pu recevoir à six mille livres des ordres concernant une entreprise qu'on venoit de faire et que le ministre de France n'avait jamais pu prévoir*. All ces ordres secrets valent-ils donc par prévoyance? Il étoit nécessairement contradictoire avec ceux que le Bourdonnais avait reçus. Le ministre aurait eu à se reprocher la perte de neuf millions dont on privait la France en violant la capitulation, mais surtout le cruel traitement dont il payait le génie, la valeur et la magnanimité de la Bourdonnais. —*Fragment Histor. sur l'Inde*, Art. 2. But the word *ordres* may also signify orders merely not to disclose the pretended secret. This is a species of *doublet*—like *doublet* to be suspected; for it may be as easily applied to the greatest villainy as to the greatest worth, and is far more likely to be so.

¹ Orme i. 67 71.

of the other, with which Labourdonnais, finding it in vain to strive for Acheen, at last directed his course to the islands Hastening to Europe, to make his defence, or answer the accusations of his enemies, he took his passage in a ship belonging to Holland. In consequence of the declaration of war she was forced into an English harbour Labourdonnais was recognized, and made a prisoner, but the conduct which he had displayed at Madras was known and remembered All ranks received him with favour and distinction That he might not be detained, a Director of the East India Company offered to become security for him with his person and property With a corresponding liberality, the government declined the offer, desiring no security but the word of Labourdonnais. His treatment in France was different The representations of Dupleix had arrived A brother of Dupleix was a Director of the East India Company, Dupleix had only violated a solemn treaty, Labourdonnais had only faithfully and gloriously served his country, and he was thrown into the Bastile He remained in that prison three years, while the vindication which he published, and the authentic documents by which he supported it, fully established his innocence, and the ardour and ability of his services He survived his liberation a short time, a memorable example of the manner in which a blind government encourages desert¹

He had not taken his departure from Madras, when the troops of the Nabob appeared. Dupleix had been able to dissuade that native ruler from yielding his protection to Madras, a service which the English, who had prevailed on Commodore Barnet to abstain from molesting Pondicherry, claimed as their due Dupleix had gained him by the promise of Madras The Moor (so at that time the Moslems in India were generally called) quickly however perceived, that the promise was a delusion, and he now proposed to take vengeance by driving the French from the place As soon as Labourdonnais and his fleet disappeared, a numerous army of the Nabob, led by his son, invested Madras From the disaster, however, which had

¹ Mémoire, ut supra, pp 221—230 Orme, i 72, Raynal, liv iv sect 20 Voltaire, amid other praises, says of him, "Il fit plus, il dispersa une escadre Angloise dans la mer de l'Inde, ce qui n'étoit jamais arrivé qu'à lui, et ce qu'on n'a pas revu depuis" Fragm Histor sur l'Inde, Art 3.

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befallen the fleet, Labourdonnais had been under the necessity of leaving behind him about 1200 Europeans, disciplined by himself the French, therefore, encountered the Indians astonished them beyond measure by the rapidity of their artillery with a numerical force which bore no proportion to the enemy gained over them a decisive victory and first broke the spell which held the Europeans in subjection to the native powers.¹

The masters of mankind, how little soever disposed to share better things with the people, are abundantly willing to give them a share of their disgrace. Though, on other occasions, they may affect a merit in despising the public will, they diligently put on the appearance of being constrained by it in any dishonourable action which they have a mind to perform. In violating the treaty with the English, Dupleix recognised his own baseness; means were therefore used to make the French inhabitants of Pondicherry assemble and draw up a remonstrance against it, and a prayer that it might be annulled. Moved by respect for the general voice of his countrymen, Dupleix sent his orders to declare the treaty of ransom annulled to take the keys of all magazines; and to seize every article of property except the clothes of the wearers, the moveables of the houses, and the jewels of the women; orders which were executed with avaricious exactness. The governor and principal inhabitants were carried prisoners to Pondicherry and exhibited, by Dupleix, in a species of triumph.

The English still possessed the settlement of Fort St.

Mémoires pour Dupleix, p. 25; *Mémoires pour Labourdonnais*, L. 112. It was now more than century - says M. Orme (p. 76, above say) European nations had gained decisive advantage in war against the natives of the Great Mogul. The experience of former successful wars, and the acquisition of military abilities which prevailed in all the colonies, from a long course of arms, had persuaded them that the Moors were brave and formidable enemy; when the French at once broke through the chain of this monstrous opinion, by defeating whole army with single battalion.

Mémoires pour Labourdonnais, L. 112. Orme, L. 77. Dupleix, in his apology (*Mém.* p. 37), declares disavowing this breach of faith repeating the former pretence of secrecy to which, he says, the Ministry and the Company enjoined him. Experience justifies three inferences; 1. That the disgrace as such as explanation would enhance; 2. That the Ministry and the Company were sharers in it; 3. That having such partners, his safety did not depend upon his justification. He adds, that it is certain he was innocent, because the Ministry and the Company continued to employ him. It was certain, either that he was innocent, or that the Ministry and the Company were sharers in his guilt. And it was manifest that if he was innocent that Ministry never can have guilt; if so, the inference was logical.

David, on the coast of Coromandel. It was situated twelve miles south from Pondicherry, with a territory still larger than that of Madras. Besides Fort St David, at which were placed the houses of the Company, and other Europeans, it contained the town of Cuddalore, inhabited by the Indian merchants, and other natives, and two or three populous villages. The fort was small, but stronger than any of its size in India. Cuddalore was surrounded, on the three sides towards the land, by walls flanked with bastions. On the side towards the sea, it was open, but skirted by a river, which was separated from the sea by a mound of sand. A part of the inhabitants of Madras had, after a violation of the treaty of ransom, made their way to Fort St David, and the agents of the Company at that place now took upon themselves the functions of the Presidency of Madras, and the general administration of the English affairs on the Coromandel coast¹.

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Dupleix lost no time in following up the retention of Madras with an enterprise against Fort St David, the reduction of which would have left him without a European rival. In the night of the 19th of December, a force consisting of 1700 men, mostly Europeans, of which fifty were cavalry, with two companies of the Kaffie slaves trained by Labourdonnais, set out from Pondicherry, and arrived next morning in the vicinity of the English fort. The garrison, including the men who had escaped from Madras, amounted to no more than about 200 Europeans, and 100 Topasses. At this time the English had not yet learned to train Sepoys in the European discipline, though the French had already set the example, and had four or five disciplined companies at Pondicherry². They had hired, however, 2000 of the undisciplined soldiers of the country, who are armed promiscuously with swords and targets, bows and arrows, pikes, lances, matchlocks or muskets, and known among the Europeans by the name of Peons, among these men they had distributed eight or nine hundred muskets, and destined them for the defence of Cuddalore. They had also applied for assistance to the

¹ Orme, i 78² The two important discoveries for conquering India were 1st, The weakness of the native armies against European discipline 2dly, The facility of imparting that discipline to natives in the European service. Both discoveries were made by the French

BOOK IV Nabob and he, exasperated against the French, by his
 CHAP. I. defeat at Madras, engaged, upon the promise of the English
 1 47 to defray part of the expense, to send his army to assist
 Fort St. David. The French, having gained an advantageous post, and laid down their arms for a little rest, were exulting in the prospect of an easy prey when an army of nearly 10,000 men advanced in sight. Not attempting resistance, the French made good their retreat, with twelve Europeans killed, and 120 wounded. Dupleix immediately entered into a correspondence with the Moors, to detach them from the English and, at the same time, meditated the capture of Cuddalore by surprise. On the night of the 10th of January 500 men were embarked in boats, with orders to enter the river and attack the open quarter of the town at daybreak. But, as the wind rose, and the surf was high, they were compelled to return.¹

Dupleix was fertile in expedients, and indefatigable in their application. He sent a detachment from Madras into the Nabob's territory in hopes to withdraw him to its defence. The French troops disgraced themselves by the barbarity of their ravages; but the Indian army remained at Fort St. David, and the resentment of the Nabob was increased. On the 20th of January the four ships of La bourdonnais' squadron, which had sailed to Acheen to refit, arrived in the road of Pondicherry. Dupleix conveyed to the Nabob an exaggerated account of the vast accession of force which he had received describing the English as a contemptible handful of men, devoted to destruction. "The governments of Indostan," says Mr Orme on this occasion, have no idea of national honour in the conduct of their politics and as soon as they think the party with whom they are engaged is reduced to great distress, they shift, without hesitation, their alliance to the opposite side, making immediate advantage the only rule of their action." A peace was accordingly concluded; the Nabob's troops abandoned the English his son, who commanded the army paid a visit to Pondicherry; was received, by Dupleix, with that display in which he delighted; and was gratified by a considerable present.²

¹ Orme I. 75—82.

² Mémoire pour La Bourdonnais, I. 219. Mémoire pour Dupleix, p. 79. Orme, I. 84, 85.

Blocked up, as it would have been, from receiving supplies, by the British ships at sea, and by the Nabob's army on land, Pondicherry, but for this treaty, would soon have been reduced to extremity¹ And now the favourable opportunity for accomplishing the destruction of Fort St David was eagerly seized. On the morning of the 13th of March, a French army was seen approaching the town. After some resistance, it had crossed the river, which flows a little way north from the fort, and had taken possession of its former advantageous position, when an English fleet was seen approaching the road. The French crossed the river with precipitation, and returned to Pondicherry²

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The fleet under Captain Peyton, after it was lost sight of by Labourdonnais, on the 18th of August, off Negapatnam, had tantalized the inhabitants of Madras, who looked to it with eagerness for protection, by appearing off Pullicat, about thirty miles to the northward, on the 3rd of September, and again sailing away. Peyton proceeded to Bengal, because the sixty-gun ship was in such a condition as to be supposed incapable of bearing the shock of her own guns. The fleet was there reinforced by two ships, one of sixty and one of forty guns, sent from England with Admiral Griffin, who assumed the command, and proceeded with expedition to save Fort St David, and menace Pondicherry. The garrison was reinforced by the arrival of 100 Europeans, 200 Topasses, and 100 Sepoys, from Bombay, besides 400 Sepoys from Tellicherry, in the course of the year 150 soldiers were landed from the Company's ships from England and in the month of January, 1748, Major Lawrence arrived, with a commission to command the whole of the Company's forces in India.³

The four ships which had arrived at Pondicherry from Acheen, and which Dupleix foresaw would be in imminent danger, when the English fleet should return to the coast, he had, as soon as he felt assured of concluding peace with the Nabob, ordered from Pondicherry to Goa. From Goa they proceeded to Mauritius, where they were joined by three other ships from France. About the middle of June,

¹ So says Dupleix himself, *Mém* p 29

² Orme, i. 87 *Mém pour Dupleix*, p 29

³ Orme, i 66, 87, 88

BOOK IV this fleet was despatched off Fort St. David, making sail, as if
 CHAP. I. it intended to bear down upon the English. Admiral
 1747 Griffin waited for the land wind, and put to sea at night,
 expecting to find the enemy in the morning. But the
 French Admiral, as soon as it was dark, crowded sail, and
 proceeded directly to Madras, where he landed 300 soldiers,
 and £200,000 in silver the object of his voyage and then
 returned to Mauritius. Admiral Griffin sought for him in
 vain.¹ But Dupleix, knowing that several days would be
 necessary to bring the English ships back to Fort St.
 David, against the monsoon, contrived another attack upon
 Cuddalore. Major Lawrence, by a well-executed feint,
 allowed the enemy at midnight to approach the very walls,
 and even to apply the scaling ladders, under an idea that
 the garrison was withdrawn, when a sudden discharge of
 artillery and musketry struck them with dismay and
 threw them into precipitate retreat.

The Government of England moved by the disasters of
 the nation in India, and jealous of the ascendancy assumed
 by the French, had now prepared a formidable armament
 for the East. Nine ships of the public navy one of
 seventy four one of sixty-four two of sixty two of fifty
 one of twenty guns, a sloop of fourteen, a bomb-ketch with
 her tender and an hospital-ship, commanded by Admiral
 Boscawen and eleven ships of the Company carrying
 stores and troops to the amount of 1400 men, set sail from
 England toward the end of the year 1744. They had in-
 structions to capture the island of Mauritius in their way,
 as a place of great importance to the enterprises of the
 French in India. But the leaders of the expedition, after
 examining the coast, and observing the means of defence,
 were deterred, by the loss of time which the enterprise
 would occasion. On the 9th of August they arrived at

¹ Admiral Griffin, on his return to England, was brought to a court martial and suspended the service for negligence in not having stood out to sea, for first receiving information of the enemy's approach by doing which it was argued, he might have frustrated the object of the French squadron, if not have brought them to action. He published an appeal against the sentence grounding his defence on his having missed the land wind on the day before the squadron was to sail, in necessary preparations to strengthen his own ships for encounter with what his imagination represented as a superior force by which he expected to be attacked.—W

² Orme, l. 48—91. Orme says that 900 soldiers only were landed by the French at Madras. Dupleix himself says, *Trois cent hommes, deux cents fusils mousquetaires.* Mém. p. 32.

Fort St David, when the squadron, joined to that under Griffin, formed the largest European force that any one power had yet possessed in India¹

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1718

Dupleix, who had received early intelligence from Franco of the preparations for this armament, had been the more eager to obtain an interval of friendship with the Nabob, and to improve it to the utmost for laying in provisions and stores at Pondicherry and Madras, knowing well, as soon as the superior force of the English should appear, that the Nabob would change sides, and the French settlements, both by sea and land, would again be cut off from supplies²

Preparations at Fort St David had been made, to expedite the operations of Boscawen, and he was in a very short time ready for action, when all Englishmen exulted in the hope of seeing the loss of Madras revenged by the destruction of Pondicherry. Amid other points of preparation for attaining this desirable object, there was one, to wit, knowledge, which they had, unfortunately, overlooked. At a place called Ariancopang, about two miles to the south-west of Pondicherry, the French had built a small fort. When the English arrived at this place, not a man was found who could give a description of it. They resolved, however, to take it by assault, but were repulsed, and the repulse dejected the men. Time was precious; for the season of the rains, and the change of monsoon, were at hand. A small detachment, too, left at the fort, might have held the feeble garrison in check, but it was resolved to take Ariancopang at any expense. Batteries were opened, but the enemy defended themselves with spirit. Major Lawrence was taken prisoner in the trenches. Several days were consumed, and more would have been added to them, had not a part of the enemy's magazine of powder taken fire, which so terrified the garrison, that they blew up the walls and retreated to Pondicherry. As if sufficient time had not been lost, the English remained five days longer to repair the fort, in which they resolved to leave a garrison, lest the enemy should resume possession during the siege.

They advanced to Pondicherry, and opened the trenches

¹ Orme, i 91—93

² Mémoire pour Dupleix, p 31, 32

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on the north west side of the town, at the distance of 1,500 yards from the wall, though it was even then customary to open them within 800 yards of the covered way. The cannon and mortars in the ships were found capable of little execution; and, from want of experience, the approaches, with much labour went slowly on. At last they were carried within 800 yards of the wall when it was found impossible to extend them any further on account of a large morass; while, on the northern side of the town, they might have been carried to the foot of the glacis. Batteries, at the distance of 800 yards, were constructed on the edge of the morass but the enemy's fire proved double that of the besiegers; the rains came on; sickness prevailed in the camp; very little impression had been made on the defences of the town; a short time would make the roads impracticable; and hurricanes were apprehended, which would drive the ships from the coast. It was therefore determined, by a council of war thirty-one days after the opening of the trenches, that the siege should be raised. Dupleix, as corresponded with the character of the man, made a great ostentation and parade on this unexpected event. He represented himself as having gained one of the most brilliant victories on record; he wrote letters in this strain, not only to France, but to the Indian princes, and even to the Great Mogul himself; he received in return the highest compliments on his own conduct and bravery as well as on the prowess of his nation; and the English were regarded in India as only a secondary and inferior people.¹

In November news arrived that a suspension of arms had taken place between England and France and this was shortly after followed by intelligence of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in which the French Government had agreed to restore Madras. It was delivered up in August, with its fortifications much improved. At the distance of four miles south from Madras, was the town of San Tomé or St. Thomas, built by the Portuguese, and, in the time of

¹ Orme i. 80, 94—106. Dupleix (*Mém.* p. 27) says that the trenches were open forty-two days, and that the siege altogether lasted fifty-eight. The memoir drawn up by the French East India Company is sower; Dupleix alleges more than once that Dupleix was defective in personal courage; and says he apologised for the ease with which he kept at distance from that, by a new leading que le bruit des armes correspondait ses réflexions, et que le calme and souverain à son glorieux, p. 18.

their prosperity, a place of note It had long, however, been reduced to obscurity, and though inhabited mostly by Christians, had hardly been regarded as a possession by any of the European powers It had been found that the Roman Catholic priests, from the sympathy of religion, had conveyed useful information to the French in their designs upon Madras To prevent the like inconvenience in future, it was now taken possession of by the English, and the obnoxious part of the inhabitants ordered to withdraw¹

BOOK IV
CHAP I

1749.

No events of any importance had occurred at the other presidencies, during these years of war The Viceroy of Bengal had prohibited the French and English from prosecuting their hostilities in his dominions This governor exacted contributions from the European colonies, for the protection which he bestowed, that, however, which he imposed upon the English did not exceed £100,000 A quantity of raw silk, amounting to 300 bales, belonging to the Company, was plundered by the Mahrattas, and the distress which the incursions of that people produced in the province, increased the difficulties of traffic²

The trade of the Company exhibited the following results —

	Gold and Stores exported	Bullion do	Total
1744	£231,318	£458,544	£689,862
1745	91,364	476,853	568,217
1746	265,818	560,020	825,838
1747	107,979	779,256	887,235
1748	127,224	706,890	834,114

The Bills of Exchange for which the Company paid during those years were —

1744	£103,349	1747	£441,651
1745	98,213	1748	178,419
1746	417,647		

The amount of sales for the same years (including thirty per cent of duties, which remained to be deducted) was

1744	£1,997,506	1747	£1,739,159
1745	2,480,966	1748	1,768,041*
1746	1,602,388		

¹ Orme, I 107, 75, 131

² Orme, II 55

³ Third Report from the Committee of Secrecy, 1773, p 75

BOOK IV The official value at the Custom house of the imports
 and exports of the Company during that period, was as
 follows

1743.

		Imports.		Exports.
1744	..	£743,508	....	£4 0,274
1745	.....	973,105	.....	203,113
1746	....	646,697	.....	803,540
1747	... ..	128,733	..	315,528
1748	.. ..	1,098,712	.. ..	306,307 ¹

The dividend was eight per cent. per annum, during the whole of the time.

During the same period, the trade of the nation, notwithstanding the war had considerably increased. The imports had risen from £8,362,071 official value to £8,136,408; and the exports from £11,420,628 to £12,351,433 and, in the two following years, to £14,009,366 and £15,132,004.²

CHAPTER II.

Origin, Progress, and Suspension, of the Contest for establishing Mohammed Ali, Nabob of the Carnatic

A NEW scene is now to open in the history of the East India Company. Before this period they had maintained the character of mere traders, and, by humility and submission, endeavoured to preserve a footing in that distant country under the protection or oppression of the native powers. We shall now behold them entering the lists of war; and mixing with eagerness in the contests of the princes. Dupleix, whose views were larger than, at that time, those of any of the servants of the Company had already planned, in his imagination, an empire for the French, and had entered pretty deeply into the intrigues of the country powers. The English were the first to draw the sword; and from no higher inducement than the promise of a trifling settlement on the Coromandel coast.

A prince who, amid the revolutions of that country had, some years before possessed and lost the throne of Tanjore repaired to Fort St David, and entreated the as-

¹ Sir C. Whitworth. Tables, part II. p. 9.

Report, at supra, p. 74.

² Whitworth's Tables, p. I. part 79.

sistance of the English. He represented his countrymen as ready to co-operate for his restoration, and promised the fort and country of Devi-Cotah, with the payment of all expenses, if, with their assistance, he should recover his rights. The war between the French and English had brought to the settlements of both nations in that quarter of India, a greater quantity of troops than was necessary for their defence, and with the masters of troops it seems to be a law of nature, whenever they possess them in greater abundance than is necessary for defence, to employ them for the disturbance of others. The French and English rulers in India showed themselves extremely obedient to that law. The interests of the Tanjore fugitive were embraced at Fort St David, and, in the beginning of April, 1749, 430 Europeans and 1000 Sepoys, with four field-pieces and four small mortars, marched with him for Tanjore.

Tanjore was one of those rajaships, or small kingdoms, into which the Mohammedans, at their first invasion of India, found the country in general divided. It occupied little more than the space enclosed and intersected by the numerous mouths of the river Cavery. The Coleroon, or most northern branch of that river, bounded it on the north, and it extended about seventy miles along the coast, and nearly as much inland from the sea. Like the rest of the neighbouring country, it appears to have become dependent upon the more powerful rajaship of Beejanuggur, before the establishment of the Mohammedan kingdoms in the Deccan, and afterwards upon the kingdom of Beejapore, but subject still to its own laws and its own sovereign or raja, who held it in the character of a Zemindar. In the time of Aurungzeb, it has been already seen, that a very remarkable personage, the father of Sivajee, who had obtained a footing in the Carnatic, had entered into a confederacy with the Raja or Polygar of Mudkul or Madura, against the Raja or Zemindar or Naig (for we find all these titles applied to him) of Tanjore, whom they defeated and slew, that afterwards quarrelling with the Raja of Mudkul, about the division of the conquered territory, the Mahratta stripped him of his dominions, took possession both of Mudkul and Tanjore, and transmitted them to his pos-

terity! His grandson Shaojee was attacked and taken prisoner by Zulfikar Khan, who, to strengthen his party restored him to his government or zemindary upon the death of Aurungzeb. Shaojee had two brothers, Shurfajee and Tukojee. They succeeded one another in the government, and all died without issue, excepting the last. Tukojee had three sons, Baba Saib, Nana, and Sahujee. Baba Saib succeeded his father and died without issue. Nana died before him, but left an infant son, and his widow was raised to the government, by the influence of Seid, the commander of the fort. This powerful servant soon deprived the Queen of all authority throw her into prison, and set up as raja a pretended son of Shurfajee. It suited the views of Seid to allow a very short existence to this prince and his power. He next placed Sahujee the youngest of the sons of Tukojee, in the seat of government. Sahujee also was soon driven from the throne. Seid now vested with the name of sovereign, Prataup Sing, a son by one of the inferior wives of Tukojee. This was in 1741. The first act of Prataup Sing's government was to assassinate Seid. It was Sahujee who now craved the assistance of the English.¹ And it was after having corresponded for years with Prataup Sing, as King of Tanjore after having offered to him the friendship of the English nation; and after having courted his assistance against the French that the English rulers now without so much as a pretence of any provocation, and without the allegation of any other motive than the advantage of poisoning Devi-Cotah, despatched an army to dethrone him.

¹ Vide supra. Also Anasayee's Operations in the Deccan, by Scott, p. 6.—H. Also Duff's History of the Mahrattas, i. 159.—W.

History and Management of the East India Company from an authentic MS. account of Tanjore. See also Orme, i. 189 who in some particulars, was misinformed.—W. Duff calls him Syajee and adds he was a legitimate son. Prataup Sing was the son of execution.—W.

The meaning of this letter is to let your Majesty know I shall esteem it a great honour to be upon such terms with your Majesty as may be convenient to both; for which reason, I hope this will meet with gracious acceptance as likewise the few things I send with it. Letter from Governor Poyet to Prataup Sing, King of Tanjore, dated 30th November 1746.—"I received your letter and am glad to hear of the King of Tanjore's regard and civility toward the English. You may be assured, that after the arrival of our ships, which will be very soon, I will serve the King and all the people that will do us good against the French, who are enemies to all the world. Letter from Governor Poyet to Macraquhite, officer of the King of Tanjore dated 21 Jan 1747—

This is to acquaint your Majesty of the good news have received from Europe two days past. The French nation (enemies both to your Majesty and

The troops proceeded by land; while the battering-BOOK IV.
cannon and provisions were conveyed by sea They had CHAP II
begun to proceed when the monsoon changed, with a violent hurricane The army, having crossed the river Coleroon, without opposition, were on the point of turning into a road among the woods, which they would have found inextricable. Some of the soldiers, however, discovered a passage along the river, into which they turned by blind but lucky chance, and this led them, after a march of about ten miles, to the neighbourhood of Devi-Cotah They had been annoyed by the Tanjorines, no partisans appeared for Sahujee, it indeed appears not that so much as a notice had been conveyed to them of what was designed, and no intelligence could be procured of the ships, though they were at anchor only four miles off at the mouth of the river The army threw at the fort what shells they had, and then retreated without delay

1749

The shame of a defeat was difficult to bear, and the rulers of Madras resolved upon a second attempt They exaggerated the value of Devi-Cotah, situated in the most fertile spot on the coast of Coromandel, and standing on the river Coleroon, the channel of which, within the bar, was capable of receiving ships of the largest burden, while there was not a port from Masulipatam to Cape Comorin, which could receive one of 300 tons it was true the mouth of the river was obstructed by sand, but if that could be removed, the possession would be invaluable This time, the expedition, again commanded by Major Lawrence,¹ proceeded wholly by sea, and from the mouth of the river the troops and stores were conveyed up to

the English) had fitted out a force with design to drive the English out of India and had they been successful, they would never have stopped there, but would have made settlements in whatever parts of your country they liked best, as they have already done at Carical But it pleased God that their vile designs have been prevented, for our ships met them at sea, and took and destroyed the whole of them

I do not at all doubt, but that in a short time we shall be able to put you in possession of Carical, which I hear you so much wish for" Letter from Governor Floyer to the King of Tanjore, dated 19th Jan 1743 See i 25, 26, of a Collection of Papers, entitled Tanjore Papers published by the East India Company in three 4to volumes, in 1777, as an Appendix to a Vindication of the Company, drawn up by their counsel, Mr Rous, in answer to two pamphlets, one entitled, "State of Facts relative to Tanjore" the other, "Original Papers relative to Tanjore" This Collection of Papers I shall commonly quote, under the short title of Rous's Appendix

¹ Major Lawrence did not command on the first invasion of Tanjore, the force was led by Captain Cope Rous's Appendix, 30 —V

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Devi-Cotah in boats. The army was landed on the side of the river opposite to the fort, where it was proposed to erect the batteries, because the ground on the same side of the river with the fort, was marshy covered with wood, and surrounded by the Tanjore army. After three days' firing a breach was made but no advantage could be taken of it till the river was crossed. This was dangerous, as well from the breadth and rapidity of the stream, as from the number of soldiers in the thickets which covered the opposite shore. To the ingenuity of a common ship's carpenter the army was indebted for the invention by which the danger was overcome. A raft was constructed sufficient to contain 400 men; but the difficulty was to move it across. John Moore the man who suggested and constructed the raft, was again ready with his aid. He swam the river in the night; fastened to a tree on the opposite side a rope which he carefully concealed in the bushes and water and returned without being perceived. Before the raft began to move, some pieces of artillery were made to fire briskly upon the spot where the rope was attached and moved the Tanjoremen to a distance too great to perceive it. The raft was moved across; it returned, and recrossed several times, till the whole of the troops were landed on the opposite bank. Major Lawrence resolved to storm the breach without delay. Lieutenant Clive, who had given proofs of his ardent courage at the siege of Pondicherry offered to lead the attack. He proceeded with a platoon of Europeans and 700 Sepoys; but rashly allowing himself, at the head of the platoon, to be separated from the Sepoys, he narrowly escaped with his life; and the platoon was almost wholly destroyed. Major Lawrence advanced with the whole of his force, when the soldiers mounted the breach, and after a feeble resistance took possession of the place. An accommodation between the contending parties was effected soon after. The reigning king agreed to concede to the English the fort for which they contended, with a territory of the annual value of 9000 pagodas; and they on their part, not only renounced the support of him for whom they had pretended to fight as the true and lawful king but agreed to secure his person, in order that he might give no further molestation to Prataup Sing and

demanded only 4000 rupees, about £400, for his annual expenses¹ It may well be supposed, that to conquer Tanjore for him would have been a frantic attempt But no such reflection was made when a zeal for the justice of his cause was held up as the impelling motive of the war, nor can it be denied that his interests were very coolly resigned. It is even asserted that, but for the humanity of Boscawen, he would have been delivered into the hands of Prataup Sing² He found means to make his escape from the English, who imprisoned his uncle and kept him in confinement for nine years, till he was released by the French, when they took Fort St. David in 1758³

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1749

While the English were occupied with the unimportant conquest of Devi-Cotah, the French had engaged in transactions of the highest moment, and a great revolution was accomplished in the Carnatic This revolution, on which a great part of the history of the English East India Company depends, it is now necessary to explain Carnatic is the name given to a large district of country along the coast of Coromandel, extending from near the river Kistna, to the northern branch of the Cavery In extending westward from the sea, it was distinguished into two parts, the first, including the level country between the sea and the first range of mountains, and entitled Carnatic below the Ghauts, the second, including the table land between the first and second range of mountains, and called Carnatic above the Ghauts. A corresponding tract, extending from the northern branch of the Cavery to Cape Comorin, sometimes also receives the name of Carnatic, but in that case it is distinguished by the title of the Southern Carnatic⁴

¹ Orme, i 109—119 History and Management of the East India Company p 68—70

² History and Management, p 69

³ This is related by Orme, (ii 318,) who tells us not who this uncle was (he must have been maternal) but only that he was the guide of his nephew, and the head of his party

⁴ According to Colonel Wilks, (p 5,) the ancient name was Canara, and the Canara language is only found within a district bounded by a line, beginning near the town of Beder, about sixty miles N W from Hyderabad, waving S E by the town of Adoni, then to the west of Gooti, next by the town of Anantpoor, next Nundidroog, next to the eastern Ghauts, thence along the range of the eastern Ghauts southwards to the pass of Guffelhutty, thence by the chasm of the western hills, between the towns of Colimbetoor, Palatchi, and Palgaut, thence northwards along the skirts of the western Ghauts, nearly as far as the sources of the Kistna, thence in an eastern and afterwards north-eastern direction to Beder He adds, (p 6,) that the Tamul language was spoken in the tract extending from Pallicat, (the boundary of the Talluga language on the south,) to Cape Comorin, and from the sea to the eastern Ghauts This tract bore,

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The district of Carnatic had fallen into dependence upon the great rajaships of Beejanuggur and Warankul; and after the reduction of these Hindu powers, had been united to the Mohammedan kingdoms of Beejapore and Golconda. Upon the annexation of these kingdoms to the Mogul empire in the reign of Aurungzeb, the Carnatic was included in the general subjugation, and formed part of the great Subah of the Deccan. In the smaller provinces or viceroalties, the districts or subdivisions, were proportionally small and the sub-governors of these divisions were known by the titles of Zemindar and Phouzar or Foujdar. In the great Subahs, however particularly that of the Deccan, the primary divisions were very large, and the first rank of sub-governors proportionally high. They were known by the name of nabob or deputy—that is, deputy of the Subahdar or Viceroy governor of the Subah; and under these deputies or nabobs were the Zemindars and Foudars of the districts. The Carnatic was one of the nabobships, or grand divisions of the great Subah of the Deccan. During the vigour of the Mogul government, the grand deputies or nabobs, though immediately subject to the Subahdar or Viceroy were not always nominated by him. They were often nominated immediately by the Emperor and not unfrequently as a check upon the dangerous power of the Subahdar. When the Subahdar however was powerful, and the Emperor weak the nabobs were nominated by the Subahdar.

When Nizam al Mulk was established Subahdar of the Deccan, a chief, named Sadatullah, was nabob of the Carnatic, and held that command under the Nizam till the year 1732, when he died. Sadatullah, who had no issue male adopted the two sons of his brother Dost Ali, and Bakir Ali. Bakir Ali he made governor of Vellore and he had influence to leave Dost Ali in possession of the nabobship at his death. Nizam al Mulk claimed a right to nominate his deputy in the government of the Carnatic; and took displeasure that Dost Ali had been intruded into the office with so little deference to his authority;

anciently, the name of Deva Nila, although, says the C. mel., "the great part of it is known to Europeans only by the name of Carnatic." It is called by the Mohammedans, Carnatic below the Ghats, Carnatic above the Ghats.

but he happened to be engaged at the time in disputes with the Emperor, which rendered it inconvenient to resent the affront Dost Ali had two sons and four daughters Of these daughters one was married to Mortiz Ali, the son of his brother Bâkir Ali, governor of Velore, another to Chunda Saheb, a more distant relative, who became dewan, or minister of the finances, under Dost Ali, his father-in-law

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Trichinopoly was a little sovereignty bordering on the west upon Tanjore Though subdued by the Mogul, it had been allowed, after the manner of Tanjore, to retain, as Zemindar, its own sovereign, accountable for the revenues and other services, required from it as a district of the Mogul empire The rajas of Tanjore and Trichinopoly were immediately accountable to the nabobs of the Carnatic, and, like other Zemindars, frequently required the terror of an army to make them pay their arrears In the year 1736 the Raja of Trichinopoly died, and the sovereignty passed into the hands of his wife The supposed weakness of female government pointed out the occasion as favourable for enforcing the payment of the arrears, or for seizing the immediate government of the country By intrigue and perfidy, Chunda Saheb was admitted into the city, when, imprisoning the queen, who soon died with grief, he was appointed, by his father-in-law, governor of the kingdom.¹

The Hindu Rajas were alarmed by the ambitious proceedings of the Nabob of the Carnatic and his son-in-law,

¹ By Mr Orme, i 41 Colonel Wilks states, on verbal authority, that the Malirattas were invited by the eldest son of the Nabob, jealous of Chunda Saheb, ubi supra, p 251 —M

This is rather incorrectly abridged from Orme, who states that the collection of the revenue was only a pretext, the real object being to take advantage not of female weakness, but of a disputed succession The Hindu princes of Tanjore and Trichinopoly had never been subdued by the Mogul, and although at times compelled to purchase the forbearance of the Mohammedan states of Bijapur or Golconda, they had preserved their independence from a remote date The expulsion of their native princes was owing to domestic dissensions, which transferred Tanjore to a Mahratta ruler, and gave Trichinopoly to a Mohammedan The latter was a relic of the Hindu kingdom of Madura, and according to original authorities, Chanda Sahib obtained possession of it, not under the circumstances described by the European writers, who were avowedly ill informed of the real merits of the case, but by an act of treachery to his ally Minakshi Amman, the reigning queen, whose adopted son he had zealously defended against a competitor for the principality—grateful for his support, and confiding in his friendship, the Queen gave him free access to the citadel, and he abused her confidence by making himself treacherously master of the fortress See Historical Sketch of the Kingdom of Pandya J Roy As Society, vol iii p 199 —W

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and incited the Mahrattas, as people of the same origin and religion, to march to their assistance. The attention of Nizam al Mulk was too deeply engaged in watching the motions of Nadir Shah, who, at that very time, was prosecuting his destructive war in Hindustan, to oppose a prompt resistance to the Mahrattas: it has, indeed, been asserted, though without proof, and not with much probability that as he was but little pleased with the appointment or proceedings of Dost Ali, he instigated the Mahrattas to this incursion, for the sake of chastising the presumption of his deputy.

An army commanded by Ragojee Bonslah, appeared on the confines of Carnatic, in the month of May 140. The passes of the mountains might have been successfully defended by a small number of men: but an officer of Dost Ali, a Hindu, to whom that important post was committed, betrayed his trust, and left a free passage to the Mahrattas. Dost Ali encountered the invaders: but lost his life in the battle. Sufder Ali, the eldest son of the deceased, retired to the strong fort of Velore and began to negotiate with the Mahrattas. A large sum of money was partly promised, and partly paid: and Trichinopoly which rendered Chunda Saheb an object of jealousy to the new Nabob, was secretly offered to them, if they chose the trouble of making the conquest. They returned in a few months and laid siege to Trichinopoly. Chunda Saheb defended himself gallantly for several months, but was obliged to yield on the 6th of March, 1741: and was carried a prisoner to Satarah; while Morari Row a Mahratta chief, was left Governor of Trichinopoly. Sufder Ali, afraid to trust himself in the open city of Arcot the capital of the Carnatic, took up his residence at Velore. Bakir Ali was dead, the late governor of Velore and uncle of the Nabob; and Mortiz Ali, his son, was now governor in his place. By instigation of this man, whose disposition was perfidious and cruel, Sufder Ali was assassinated: and an attempt was made by the murderer to establish himself in the government of the province; but, finding his efforts hopeless, he shut himself up in his fort of Velore; and the infant son of Sufder Ali was proclaimed Nabob.

¹ For this part of the History of the Decans in detail, see Ouseley's *Decans*, p. 1-6; *History and Management of the East India*

Nizam al Mulk, however, had now left the court of Delhi, and returned to his government of the Deccan. To arrange the troubled affairs of the Carnatic, he arrived at Arcot in the month of March, 1743. He treated the son of Sudder Ali with respect, but appointed his general Cojah Abdoolla, to the government of the Carnatic, and compelled Morari Row, and the Mahrattas, to evacuate Trichinopoly. Cojah Abdoolla died suddenly, apparently through poison, before he had taken possession of his government, and the Nizam appointed Anwar ad din Khan, to supply his place. Anwar ad din Khan, the son of a man noted for his learning and piety, had been promoted to a place of some distinction, by the father of Nizam al Mulk, and after his death attached himself to the fortunes of his son. When Nizam al Mulk became Subahdar of the Deccan, he made Anwar ad din Nabob of Elloie and Rajamundry where he governed from the year 1725 to 1741, and from that period till the death of Cojah Abdoolla, he served as Governor of Golconda. In ostent, Nizam al Mulk conferred the government of the Carnatic upon Anwar ad din, only for a time, till Seid Mohammed, the young Son of Sudder Ali, should arrive at the years of manhood, but, in the mean while, he consigned him to the guardianship of Anwar ad din, and in a short time the young Nabob was murdered by a party of Patan soldiers, who clamoured for arrears of pay, due to them, or pretended to be due, by his father. Anwar ad din escaped not the imputation of being the author of the crime, but he was supported by Nizam al Mulk, and appointed Nabob in form. It was Anwar ad din, who was the Governor of the Carnatic when the French and English contended for Madras, and whom Dupleix treated alternately as a friend and a foe.

Nizam al Mulk, whose abilities and power were calculated to confirm the arrangements which he had made in the Deccan, died in 1748, after a whole life spent in the toils and agitations of oriental ambition, at the extraordinary age of 104. The government of Sadatullah and his family had been highly popular in the Carnatic, that of

Company, p 50—72, *Mémoire pour Dupleix*, p 35—43, *Mémoire contre Dupleix*, p 19—59, *Révolution des Indes*, l 67—289. This last work was published anonymously in two volumes 12mo in 1757. It is written with partiality to Dupleix, but the author is well informed, and a man of talents. The leading facts are shortly noticed by Wilks, ch vii.

BOOK IV Anwar ad din Khan was very much hated. A strong desire
 CHAP. II. prevailed that the government of Anwar ad din should be
 1749 subverted, and that of the family of Sadatullah restored. The death of Nizam al Mulk opened a channel through which the hope of change made its way. Chunda Sahab was the only member of the family of Sadatullah, who possessed talents likely to support him in the ascent to the proposed elevation. The keen eye of Duplex had early fixed itself upon the prospect of the ascendancy of Chunda Sahab and if that chief should, by the assistance of the French, acquire the government of the Carnatic, the most important concessions might be expected from his gratitude and friendship. At the first irruption of the Mahrattas, the whole family of Dost Ali had been sent to Pondicherry (so strongly had the Indians already learned to confide in the superiority of European power,) as the place of greatest safety in the province. They received protection and respect and the wife and family of Chunda Sahab, during the whole time of his captivity had never been removed. Duplex treated them with the attention calculated to make a favourable impression on the man whom he wished to gain. He even corresponded with Chunda Sahab in his captivity and agreed to advance money to assist in raising the sum which the Mahrattas demanded for his ransom. He was liberated in the beginning of the year 1748, and even furnished, it is said, with 3000 Mahratta troops. He entered immediately into the quarrels of some contending Rajas, whose dominions lay inland between the coast of Malabar and the Carnatic, with a view to increase his followers, and collect treasure; and he was already at the head of 6000 men, when the death of Nizam al Mulk occurred.

To maintain his authority in his absence both at court and in his province Nizam al Mulk had procured the high office of Ameer al Omrah, for his eldest son, Gharee ad din Khan, who always attended the person of the Emperor. His second son, Nazir Jung, had resided for the most part in the Deccan, and had officiated as his father's deputy as often as the wars of the empire or the intrigues of the court, had called him away. Though the obedience of Nazir Jung had been so little perfect as to have been

lately chastised even by imprisonment, he was present BOOK IV
 when his father died, the army was accustomed to obey CHAP II
 him, he got possession of his father's treasures, the Em-
 peror was far too weak to assert his right of nomination,
 and Nazir Jung assumed the power and titles of Subahdar
 of the Deccan 1749

There was, however, a favourite grandson of Nizam al Mulk, the son of a descendant of Sadhoollah Khan, Vizir to Shah Jehan, by a daughter of Nizam al Mulk. His name was Hedayet Mohy ad din, to which he added the title of Moozuffer Jung. He had been Nabob of Beejapore for several years, during the life of his grandfather, who, it was now given out and believed, had nominated him successor by his will.¹ Such a competitor for the government of the Deccan appeared to Chunda Saheb the very man on whom his hopes might repose. He offered his services, and they were greedily received. To attain the assistance of Dupleix was regarded by them both as an object of the highest importance, and in a Subahdar of the Deccan, and a Nabob of the Carnatic, whom he himself should be the chief instrument in raising to power, Dupleix contemplated the highest advantages, both for himself and for his country. Chunda Saheb persuaded Moozuffer Jung that they ought to commence their operations in the Carnatic, where the interest of the family of Chunda Saheb would afford advantages. Their troops had increased to the number of 40,000 men, when they approached the confines of the Carnatic. They were joined here by the French, who consisted of 400 Europeans, 100 Caffres, and 1800 Sepoys, commanded by M d'Auteuil.² They immediately advanced towards Anwar ad din, whom on the 3rd of August, 1749, they found encamped under the fort of Amboor, fifty miles west from Aicot. The French offered to storm the intrenchment, and though twice beaten back, they advanced three times to the charge, and at last prevailed. Anwar ad din was slain in the engagement, at the uncommon age of 107 years, his eldest son was taken prisoner, and his second son Mohammed Ali, with the wreck

¹ Seer Mutakhareen, iii 115. Wills says he was governor of the strong fort of Adoni, ch vii.

² Mémoire pour la Compagnie des Indes contre le Sieur Dupleix, p 39.

BOOK IV of the army escaped to Trichinopoly, of which he was
CHAP. II. Governor.¹

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Dupleix affirms, that had the victorious leaders, according to his advice, advanced without delay against Trichinopoly while the consternation of defeat remained, they would have obtained immediate possession of the place, and the success of their enterprise would have been assured. They chose, however to go first to Arcot, that they might play for a while the Subahdar and Nabob they afterwards paid a visit at Pondicherry to M Dupleix, who gratified himself by receiving them with oriental display and was gifted with the sovereignty of eighty-one villages in the neighbourhood of the settlement.

They marched not from Pondicherry till the very end of October and instead of proceeding directly against Trichinopoly as they had settled with Dupleix, they directed their march to the city of Tanjore. The urgency of their pecuniary wants, and the prospect of an ample supply from the hoards of Tanjore made them undervalue the delay. The king was summoned to pay his arrears of tribute, and a large sum as compensation for the expense of the war. By negotiation, by promises, and stratagems, he endeavoured, and the softness of his enemies enabled him, to occupy their time till the very end of December when news arrived that Nazir Jung, the Subahdar was on his march to attack them.

Nazir Jung had been summoned, upon his accession, to the imperial presence and had advanced with a considerable army as far as the Nerbudda, when a counter-order arrived. Informed of the ambitious designs of his nephew he accelerated his return; and was arrived at Aurungabad when he heard of the overthrow and death of the Nabob of the Carnatic. The impolitic delays of his enemies afforded

¹ Orme, I. 127; Mémoires de Bayle, p. 40; Mémoires pour le Basin de l'Inde, p. 45.

Mémoires pour Dupleix, p. 47. The French Company were, in their Memoir against Dupleix (p. 44) that it was a gratifying vanity by this display that the chiefs delayed the march to Trichinopoly which seems the intention of malignity. Orme says, with better reason, that to keep the arms in India it was necessary to obtain money which they levied by contribution in the province.

Orme, I. 123-126; Mémoires pour Dupleix, p. 51. The French Company accuse Dupleix again falsely of being the author of the ill-timed invasion of Tanjore. Mémoires contre Dupleix, p. 45.

See Nizamatulla, III. 115. Mr Orme (I. 126) is mistaken. He says that Nazir Jung had marched toward Delhi, to oppose his father's brother. It was a subsequent date that Nabob of Arcot died.

time for his preparations, and they were struck with consternation when they now heard of his approach. They broke up their camp with precipitation, and, harassed by a body of Mahrattas, in the service of Nazir Jung, returned to Pondicherry¹

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Dupleix was admirably calculated for the tricks of Indian policy. Though he exerted himself with the utmost vigour to animate the spirits, and augment the force of his allies, lending them 50,000*l*, declaring that he would lend them still more, and increasing the French forces to the number of 2000 Europeans, yet contemplating now, with some terror, the chance of a defeat, he sought to be prepared for all events, and endeavoured secretly to open a negotiation with Nazir Jung. He addressed to him a memorial, in which he set forth the enmity which was borne by Anwar ad din to the French nation, and the necessity under which they were placed to avail themselves of any allies, to secure themselves from its effects, that the death of that Nabob, however, had now freed them from such obligation, and they were ready to detach themselves from the enemies of Nazir Jung, that they had already manifested their friendly dispositions towards him, in sparing Tanjore, and suspending the siege of Trichinopoly, which the victorious army of them and their allies, there was no doubt, might have easily taken². It was only, says Dupleix, the arrival of an English force in the camp of Nazir Jung, that prevented the Subahdar from embracing the proposal³.

From the beginning of 1747, the English had been intriguing, both with Nizam al Mulk and with Nazir Jung, against the French. Besides a letter from the English Governor to the same effect, Commodore Griffin, in a letter to Nizam al Mulk, dated March 6, 1747, said, "I shall not enter into a particular detail of all the robberies, cruelties, and depredations, committed on shore upon the King my Master's subjects, by that insolent, perfidious nation the French, connived at, and abetted by those under your Excellency, (the Nabob of Arcot,) whose duty it was to have preserved the peace of your country, instead of selling the interest of a nation, with whom you have had the

¹ Orme, i 136, 137.

² *Mémoire pour Dupleix*, p 53

³ *Ib. d.* p 54

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CHAP. II.

142.

strictest friendship time out of mind a nation that has been the means not only of enriching this part of the country but the whole dominions of the grand Mogul; and that to a people who are remarkable all over the world for encroaching upon, and giving disturbances and disquiet to all near them a people who are strangers in your country in comparison of those who have been robbed by them of that most important fortress and factory Madras and now they are possessed of it, have neither money nor credit, to carry on the trade.—And now excellent Sir we have laid this before you, for your information and consideration and must entreat you, in the name of the King of Great Britain, my Royal Master to call the Nabob to an account for his past transactions, and interpose your power to restore, as near as possible in its original state, what has been so unjustly taken from us." Application was at the same time made to Nazir Jung for his interest with his father which that prince assures the English by letter he had effectually employed. A favourable answer was received from Nizam al Mulk, and a mandate was sent to Anwar ad din Khan, called at that time by the English Anaverdy Khan in which were the following words "The English nation, from ancient times, are very obedient and serviceable to us besides which they always proved to be a set of true people, and it is very hard that they met with these troubles, misfortunes, and destruction. I do therefore write you, to protect, aid, and assist them in all respects, and use your best endeavours in such a manner that the French may be severely chastised and rooted off, that his Majesty's sea port town may be recovered, and that the English nation may be restored to their right, establish themselves in their former place as before and carry on their trade and commerce for the flourishing of the place. An agent of the English, a native named Hajee Hodee, who dates his letter from Arcot, the 10th of March, 1747 presents them with the real state of the fact in regard to Anwar ad din, the Nabob. I take the liberty to acquaint your worship, that as the Nabob is but a *Reuter* he does not much regard the distress of the people of this province, but in all shapes has respect to his own interest and benefit therefore there is no trusting to his promises. The French are very generous in making presents of other

people's goods, both to the old and young" He advises the English to be equally liberal with their gifts, and says, "Don't regard the money, as Governor Morse did, but part with it for the safety of your settlement" Another of their agents, Boundla Mootal, informed them that if they expected any cordial assistance from Anwar ad din, they must send him money for it. The second son of Anwar ad din, Mohammed Ali Khan, showed himself during this period of French ascendancy, rather favourable to the English probably, from that spirit of discord which prevails in the ruling families of the East, because his eldest brother displayed a partiality to the French¹

BOOK IV.

CHAP II

1749

When, after the deaths of Nizam al Mulk and Anwar ad din Khan, and the captivity of the eldest son of Anwar ad din Khan, Nazir Jung marched into the Carnatic against Chunda Saheb and Moozuffer Jung, he summoned Mohammed Ali to join him from Trichinopoly, and sent to Fort St David to solicit assistance from the English The arrival of Moozuffer Jung, the defeat of Anwar ad din, which happened when they were engaged in the attack of Tanjore, and the apprehended schemes of Dupleix, had struck the English with alarm "They saw," says Mr Orme, "the dangers to which they were exposed, but were incapable of taking the vigorous resolutions which the necessity of their affairs demanded" They allowed Mr Boscawen, with the fleet and troops, to set sail for England at the end of October, and sent only 120 Europeans to support Mohammed Ali at Trichinopoly² The presence, however, of Nazir Jung, at the head of a great army, encouraged them to command the detachment at Trichinopoly to accompany Mohammed Ali, and a few days after their arrival in the camp, Major Lawrence, with 600 Europeans from Fort St David, joined the army of the Subahdar

The two armies were now sufficiently near to skirmish, when thirteen French officers, displeased that they had not shared in the spoils of Tanjore, resigned their commissions, and infused terror and alarm into the men they were destined to command D'Auteuil, considering it no longer safe to venture into action with men thus affected, decamped the night before the expected battle, and retreated in the direction of Pondicherry, leaving Moozuffer

¹ Rous's Appendix, i 8—22² Orme, i 130, 133, 138

BOOK IV Jung and Chunda Sahib, in a state of despair. Mooruff
 CHAP. II Jung thought it best to yield himself up to his uncle, by
 whom he was immediately put in fetters. Chunda Sahib,
 1 42. with his own troops, made his way to Pondicherry.¹

The dangers were formidable and imminent which now stared Dupleix in the face but he had confidence in the resources of his own genius, and the slippery footing of an oriental prince. He sent an embassy to the camp of the victorious Subahdar offering terms of peace and at the same time entered into correspondence with some disaffected chiefs in his army; these were leaders of the Patan troops, which Nizam al Mulk, as the principal instrument of his ambition, had maintained in his service; and of which he had made the principal captains Nabobs of different districts in his Subah. It was the standing policy of all the Mohammedan princes in India to compose a great part of their armies of men drawn from the more hardy people of the north, the Tartars and Afghans. Of these people the men who arrived in India were mere soldiers of fortune, accustomed to seek for wealth and distinction through crimes. If the master whom they served were able to chastise their perfidy and feed their hopes of plunder and aggrandizement by the prospect of his conquests, they were useful and important instruments. The moment they appeared to have more to gain by destroying than by serving him, they were the most alarming source of his danger.

Nazir Jung had the usual character of a man educated a prince. He devoted his time to pleasure, and withdrew it from business; decided without consideration, hence unwisely and was at once too indolent and too proud to correct his mistakes. Under such a master the Patan lords expected, by selling their services to a competitor to add both to their treasures, and to the territories of which the government was lodged in their hands.

The deputies of Dupleix had returned from the camp of Nazir Jung, when D'Auteuil, who continued to watch the motions of the army observing the negligence with which the camp was guarded during the night, detached an

¹ Cambridge's War in India, p. 6—11; Orme, L. 126—137; H. every act & Movement of the East India Company p. 73; Mémoires pour le L. J. p. 44; Mémoires contre Dupleix, p. 47. *Exécution des L. J. L. 230—233.*

officer with 300 hundred men, who entered it unobserved, penetrated into it a mile, spread terror and alarm, killed upwards of a thousand of the enemy, and returned with the loss of only two or three men, another proof of the extraordinary weakness of an Indian army, when opposed to the force of the European mind

The Subahdar, alarmed at the presence of so enterprising an enemy, hastened to Arcot, while the English quarelling with him about the performance of his promises, and the abandonment of their cause by withdrawing his army, left the camp in disgust, and removed the only important obstacle to the machinations of the conspirators and Duplex

While the Subahdar spent his time at Arcot in the pleasures of the harem and the chase, of both of which he was immoderately fond, the French exhibited new specimens of their activity and enterprise. A small body of troops sailed to Masulipatam, at the mouth of the river Kistna, once the principal mart of that region of India, attacked it by surprise in the night, and gained possession with a trifling loss and another detachment seized the Pagoda of Trivadi, about fifteen miles west from Fort St David. Mohammed Ali obtained permission to detach himself from the army of the Subahdar, for the purpose of dislodging them from Trivadi, in this he obtained assistance from the English, who were deeply interested in preventing the French from gaining a position so near Some attacks which Mohammed Ali and the English made upon the pagoda were unsuccessful, and these allies began to quarrel. Mohammed Ali would neither advance pay to the English, nor move his troops between the pagoda and Pondicherry, upon which they left him. The French, who expected this event, waited for its arrival, attacked Mohammed Ali, gained an easy victory, and made him fly to Arcot, with two or three attendants. The French, still aiming at further acquisitions, advanced against the celebrated Fort of Gingee, situated on a vast insulated rock, and deemed the strongest fortress in the Carnatic. They stormed the fortifications to the very summit of the mountain, and contemplating afterwards the natural strength of the place, felt astonished at their own success

BOOK IV
CHAP. II.
1750.

This last exploit disturbed the tranquillity and the amusements of the Subahdar and he offered to enter upon negotiation. The demands of the French were lofty. Nair Jung, therefore began his march to Gingee. But it was now October 1750, and the rains began. The Subahdar kept the field but felt exceedingly weary of the contest; and at last appeared inclined to concede whatever was demanded by the French. Dupleix negotiated at once with the traitors and the Subahdar. He had just concluded his treaty with the Subahdar when his commander at Gingee receives from the traitors the concerted call. He marches with his whole force attacks the camp of the Subahdar and is joined by the traitors by one of whom Nair Jung is shot through the heart. In his Memoir Dupleix affirms, that he wrote immediately to inform the Commander at Gingee of the conclusion of the treaty and to prevent further hostilities, but that his letter arrived not till after the revolution was performed.

Mooruffur Jung was now freed from his imprisonment, and vested with the authority of Subahdar. Immediately however the enormous demands of the Patan nobles, to whose perfidy he owed his power began to oppress him; and he only parried their importunities by asserting the necessity of forming his arrangements in concert with Dupleix. Lofty were the hopes, in which that ambitious leader seemed now entitled to indulge himself. Mooruffur Jung advanced to Pondicherry and lavished upon him every testimony of gratitude and friendship. Dupleix exerted himself to satisfy the Patan lords who, seeing his determination to support their master permitted him to retrench their demand and treasured up their resentments for a future day. An adept in Indian policy when he had men of their dangerous character within the walls of Pondicherry would have taken care how they made their escape.

Dupleix was appointed Governor of the Mogul domi-

It is worthy of remark that the death of Nair Jung and the treaty that ensued, might possibly have been prevented if there had been one amongst the English qualified to converse with the Subahdar in any native language. Major Lawrence had been informed of some of the intrigue between the two and the French, and "at an audience endeavoured to acquaint Nair Jung with what he had heard, but his interpreter had not courage to speak distinctly and was probably have cost him his life and misrepresented what he intended to say.—Grime I. 143.—W

mions on the coast of Coromandel from the river Kistna to Cape Comorin, and Chunda Saheb his Deputy at Arcot Mohammed Ali, who had fled to Trichinopoly, upon the assassination of Nazir Jung, now offered to resign his pretensions to the nabobship of the Carnatic, provided Dupleix, who listened to the overture, would obtain from the new Subahdar a command for him, in any other part of his dominions

BOOK IV
CHAP II
1751

Moozuffer Jung left Pondicherry in the month of January, 1751, accompanied by a body of French troops, with M. Bussy, who had signalized himself in the late transactions, at their head. The army had marched about sixty leagues, when a disturbance, in appearance accidental, arose among a part of the troops, presently it was discovered, that the Patan chiefs were in revolt, and that they had seized a pass in front through which it behoved the army to proceed. They were attacked with great spirit, the French artillery carried every thing before it, and a victory was gained, when the impetuosity of the Subahdar carried him too far in the pursuit, and he was shot dead with an arrow.¹ M. Bussy was not a man who lost his presence of mind, upon an unexpected disaster. He represented to the principal commanders the necessity of agreeing immediately upon the choice of a master, and as the son of Moozuffer Jung was an infant, and the present state of affairs required the authority of a man of years, he recommended Salabut Jung, the eldest surviving son of Nizam al Mulk, who was present in the camp, and who without delay was raised to the vacant command. Salabut Jung promised the same concessions to the French which had been made by his predecessor, and the army continued its march towards Golconda.²

The Europeans in India, who hitherto had crouched at the feet of the meanest of the petty governors of a district, were astonished at the progress of the French, who now

¹ Orme says he was killed in personal conflict with the Nabob of Canoul, by whom he was thrust through the forehead with a javelin i 64—W

² For the above details see Orme i 142—166 History and Management of the East India Company, p 74—79, Cambridge's War in India, p 10—16 Seer Mutakhareen, iii 116—118, the author of which says that Moozuffer Jung had a plot against the Patans, who on this occasion were not the aggressors, Mémoire pour Dupleix, p 55—68, who says he entered into the conspiracy against Nazir Jung because he would not listen to peace, Mémoire contre Dupleix, p 47—61 Wilks, chap vii, with whom Dupleix is a favourite

BOOK IV seemed to preside over the whole region of the Deccan.
 CHAP. II. A letter to Dupleix, from a friend in the camp of Salabut
 1731 Jung, affirmed that in a little time the Mogul on his
 throne would tremble at the name of Dupleix¹ and how
 ever presumptuous this prophecy might appear little was
 wanting to secure its fulfilment.

The English, sunk in apathy or despair were so far as
 yet from taking any vigorous measures to oppose a tor-
 rent by which they were likely to be overwhelmed, that
 Major Lawrence, the commander of the troops, on whose
 military talents and authority their whole dependence
 was placed, took the extraordinary resolution, not op-
 posed, it would seem, by the Council, of returning at this
 critical juncture to England. They used their influence,
 indeed, to prevent Mohammed Ali from carrying into
 execution the proposal he had made to the French of sur-
 rendering Trichinopoly; but Mohammed Ali, and the
 English in concert, made offer to acknowledge Chunda
 Sahib, Nabob of all the Carnatic, with the exception of
 Trichinopoly and its dependencies. Thus the French
 treated as a departure from the original proposal of Mo-
 hammed Ali, and replied with haughtiness and contempt.
 The English now engaged to support him, and he resolved
 to hold out. The governor of Madura, however a small
 adjacent province, formerly a Hindu rajaship, declared for
 Chunda Sahib, and an attempt, made by a party of the
 English, to reduce it, was repelled.

Towards the beginning of April, Chunda Sahib began
 his march from Arcot and about the same time Captain
 Gिंगens, with the English, was despatched from Fort St
 David. Chunda Sahib was encamped near the Fort of
 Volcondah, on the great road between Trichinopoly and
 Arcot, when the English approached. A battle was
 brought on but the English officers spent so much time
 in deliberation as to discourage the men and the Euro-
 pean soldiers fled shamefully from the field, even while
 the Caffres and native troops maintained the contest.
 The army retreated; and though it posted itself, and en-
 camped at two different places, Utatoor and Pichonla it
 quitted both upon the arrival of the enemy and at last
 took shelter under the walls of Trichinopoly. Chunda

¹ *Mémoires* sent à Dupleix.

Saheb and the French lost no time in following, and sat down on the opposite side of the town

BOOK IV
CHAP II

1761

The city of Trichinopoly, at the distance of about ninety miles from the sea, is situated on the south side of the great river Cavery, about half a mile from its bank, and, for an Indian city, was fortified with extraordinary strength. About five miles higher up than Trichinopoly, the Cavery divides itself into two branches, which, after separating to the distance of about two miles, again approached, and being only prevented from uniting, about fifteen miles below Trichinopoly, by a narrow mound, they form a peninsula, which goes by the name of the Island of Seringham, celebrated as containing one of the most remarkable edifices, and one of the most venerated pagodas, in India, and henceforward remarkable for the struggle, constituting an era in the history of India, of which it was now to be the scene.

The presidency of Fort St David, somewhat roused by seeing the army of Mohammed Ali driven out of the Carnatic, and obliged to take shelter beyond the Cavery, made several efforts to reinforce the troops they had sent him, whom, after all, they were able to augment to the number of only 600 men. There was another misfortune; for notwithstanding the urgency with which, in the depressed and alarming state of their affairs, the English were called upon for the utmost exertions of their virtue, "a fatal spirit of division," says Major Lawrence, "had unhappily crept in among our officers, so that many opportunities and advantages were lost, which gave the country alliance but an indifferent opinion of our conduct"¹. The French, however, made but feeble efforts for the reduction of the place, and the English were too much impressed with an opinion of their own weakness to hazard any enterprize to dislodge them².

¹ Lawrence's Narrative in Cambridge's War in India, p. 28. "In the middle of July," says Orme, i. 182, "the discontent which prevailed among the officers, made it necessary to remove several of them, at a time when there were very few fit to succeed to their posts."

² Law, the commander of the French forces, whom I am much more inclined to believe than Dupleix, one of the most audacious contemners of truth that ever engaged in crooked politics, asserts his want of strength for any efficient operation, as Dupleix who had entered into a correspondence with Mohammed Ali, and relied upon his promise to open to the French the gates of Trichinopoly, sent him, not to attack Trichinopoly, but to receive possession of it. He adds, that when they were surprised by Mohammed Ali's firing upon

BOOK IV While the war thus lingered at Trichinopoly Clive,
 CHAP. II. who had been made a captain, to supply some of the re-
 1751. movals occasioned by the recent discontents, persuaded
 the Presidency to create a diversion, by sending him to
 attack Arcot, the capital of Chunda Sahib, left with a
 very slender defence. This young man was the son of a
 gentleman of small fortune in Shropshire. From the
 untractableness of his own disposition, or the unsteadiness
 of his father's, he was moved when a boy from one to
 another through a great variety of schools at which he
 was daring, impetuous, averse to application, and im-
 patient of control. At the age of nineteen he was appointed
 a writer in the service of the East India Company and
 sent to Madras. There his turbulence, though he was not
 ill-natured, engaged him in quarrels with his equals his
 dislike of application and control prevented his acquiring
 the benevolence of his superiors. When the capitulation
 with Madras was violated, Clive made his escape in a
 Mohammedan dress to Fort St. David, and when the siege
 of Pondicherry was undertaken, he was allowed to enter
 into the military service with the rank of an ensign. At
 the siege of Pondicherry and the enterprise against Devi
 Cotah, he rendered himself conspicuous by courting posts
 of danger and exhibiting in them a daring intrepidity.
 Discerning men, however perceived, along with his ra-
 pidness, a coolness and presence of mind, with a readiness of
 resource in the midst of danger which made Lawrence,
 at an early period, point him out as a man of promise.
 Upon the conclusion of the affair at Devi-Cotah, Clive
 returned to his civil occupation but no sooner did his
 countrymen resume the sword, than his own disposition,

them from the walls, they had not a single piece of battering heavy iron
 in the camp; that it was three months before they were supplied with any;
 that at first the whole army consisted of 11,000, &c. (after the detail for the
 recovery of Arcot, it consisted only of 6,000, of whom 2,000 only were
 Europeans. See *Plains of Chevalier Law on the great Impôts* p. 21. 22.
Dupleix, on the other hand (*Mémoires* p. 14. speaking in regard to the
 say that the natives who had joined Canada had but 10,000 and the army 20,000
 men. So widely various are the statements of these two men, at the head
 of the departments, civil and military.

See posthumous life of him, for which his family furnished materials, in
 Kirle's *Autograph Britannia*, vol. II. art. Clive—W.

The late Historiographer of Clive, Mr. J. Mackintosh, observing to the
 remarks, that the justice of the opinions of the English part was not
 borne out by the facts. Certainly there is nothing in the history of his
 services to warrant the application; he seems to have been wilful and
 dogged, rather than intrepid.—W.

and the scarcity of officers, again involved him in operations, far better suited to his restless, daring, and contentious mind. He had accompanied the troops sent for the defence of Trichinopoly, till after the affair at Volcondah, and had been employed by the Presidency in conducting the several reinforcements which they had attempted to forward. He was now furnished with 200 Europeans and 300 Sepoys, and to spare even these, Fort St David and Madras were left, for their defence, the one with 100, and the other with fifty men. To command them he had eight officers, of whom six had never been in action, and four were young men in the mercantile service of the Company, whom his own example had inflamed. For artillery they had three field-pieces, and two eighteen pounders were sent after him. The enemy, who remained in garrison at Arcot, which was an open town, defended by a fort, abandoned the place, and gave him possession without resistance. Expecting a siege, he exerted his utmost diligence to supply the fort, and that he might prevent the fugitive garrison, who hovered around, from resuming their courage, he made frequent sallies, beat up their camp in the middle of the night, defended himself with vigour when assailed, and harassed them by incessant and daring attacks. In the meantime Chunda Saheb detached 4000 men from his army at Trichinopoly, which were joined by his son with 150 Europeans from Pondicherry, and, together with the troops already collected in the neighbourhood, to the number of 3000, entered the city. Clive immediately resolved upon a violent attempt to dislodge them. Going out with almost the whole of the garrison, he with his artillery forced the enemy to leave the street in which they had posted themselves, but filling the houses they fired upon his men, and obliged him to withdraw to the fort. In warring against the people of Hindustan, a few men so often gain unaccountable victories over a host, that on a disproportion of numbers solely no enterprise can be safely condemned as rash, in this, however, Clive ran the greatest risk, with but a feeble prospect of success. He lost fifteen of his Europeans, and among them a lieutenant, and his only artillery officer, with sixteen other men, was disabled.

Next day the enemy was reinforced with 2000 men from

BOOK IV Velore. The fort was more than a mile in circumference
 CHAP II. the walls in many places ruinous the towers inconvenient and decayed and everything unfavourable to defence yet Clive found the means of making an effectual resistance. When the enemy attempted to storm at two breaches, one of fifty and one of ninety feet, he repulsed them with but eighty Europeans and 120 Sepoys fit for duty so effectually did he avail himself of his feeble resources, and to such a pitch of fortitude had he exalted the spirit of those under his command. During the following night the enemy abandoned the town with precipitation, after they had maintained the siege for fifty days. A reinforcement from Madras joined him on the following day and, leaving a small garrison in Arcot, he set out to pursue the enemy. With the assistance of a small body of Mahrattas, who joined him in hopes of plunder he gave the enemy now greatly reduced by the dropping away of the auxiliaries, a defeat at Arni, and recovered Conjeveram, into which the French had thrown a garrison, and where they had behaved with barbarity to some English prisoners among the rest two wounded officers, whom they seized returning from Arcot to Madras, and threatened to expose on the rampart, if the English attacked them. After these important transactions, Clive returned to Fort St. David about the end of December. The enemy so soon found that he was out of the field than they re-assembled, and marched to ravage the Company's territory. Reinforced by some troops which had arrived from Bengal, he went out to meet them in the end of February. They abandoned their camp upon his approach; but with intent to surprise Arcot, from which the principal part of the garrison had marched to the reinforcement of Clive. They expected the gates to be opened by two officers of the English Sepoys, whom they had corrupted; but the plot being discovered, and their signals not answered, they did not venture to make an attack, and suddenly withdrew. Though informed of their retreat, Clive was still hastening his march to Arcot, when at sunset his van was unexpectedly fired upon by the enemy's artillery; and a hot engagement ensued. The superior force of the enemy afforded them great advantages, and seemed likely to decide the contest, unless by

some expedient their cannon could be seized At ten at night Clive detached a party, who, favoured by the darkness, came upon it unexpectedly in the rear, defeated the troops who were placed for its defence, and succeeded completely in that important enterprise After this disaster, the enemy dispersed, and before Clive could undertake any new exploit, he was ordered to the presidency, where it was determined to send him, with all the troops under his command, to Trichinopoly It was fortunate that the enemy, dispirited by the last, in addition to so many former disappointments and defeats, disbanded themselves at the same moment, the country troops departing to their homes, and the French being recalled to Pondicherry

BOOK IV
CHAP II
1752

While these active operations were performing in the province of Arcot, Mohammed Ali, though he appeared to have little to fear from the attacks of the French upon Trichinopoly, began to have everything to dread from the deficiency of his funds The English, whom he engaged to maintain out of his own treasury, were now obliged to be maintained at the cost of the Presidency His own troops were without pay, and there was no prospect of keeping them long from mutiny or dispersion. He had applied for assistance to the Government of Mysore, a considerable Hindu kingdom, which had risen out of the wreck of the empire of Beejanugger, and viewed with dread the elevation of Chunda Saheb, who had formerly aimed at its subjugation Mohammed Ali renewed his importunities, and, by promising to the Mysoreans whatever they chose to ask, prevailed upon them to march to his assistance They arrived at Trichinopoly about the middle of February, 20,000 strong, including 6000 Mahrattas, who had entered into their pay, and of whom a part were the same with those who had assisted Clive after the siege of Arcot Their arrival determined the King of Tanjore, who till then had remained neutral, to send 5000 men A few days after Clive was recalled to Fort St David, he was again prepared to take the field, but on the 26th of March, Major Lawrence returned from England, and put himself at the head of the reinforcement which consisted of 400 Europeans and 1100 Sepoys, with eight field-pieces, and a large quantity of military stores

BOOK IV Both parties had their eyes fixed upon the reinforcement,
 CHAP. II and Dupleix sent repeated orders that it might be inter-
 cepted at all events. The efforts, however, of the enemy
 1782. proved unavailing and Lawrence in safety joined the
 camp.

It was now determined to attack the enemy in their camp. This attack the French had not the resolution, or the means to withstand, and formed the determination of passing over to the island of Seringham. Chunda Saheb, it is said, remonstrated, but without avail. In the hurry of their retreat, the enemy were able to carry over only a part of their baggage, and burned what they were unable to remove of the provisions which they had collected in their magazines.³

As delay was dangerous to the English, from the circumstances of their allies, it was their policy to reduce the enemy to extremities within the shortest possible time. With this view Clive advised them to detach a part of the army to the other side of the Coleroon, for the purpose of intercepting the enemy's supplies. Though there was hazard in this plan; for an enterprising enemy by

Dupleix accuses Law with great violence, for not intercepting the convey; and the English writers have very readily joined with him. But if the facts asserted by Law are true it was from want of means, not of spirit or inclination, that he failed. He says, that the whole army even after it was joined by the remains of the detachment sent to Arcot, and by the body under Assem Khan, did not amount to 13,000; while the enemy were three times the number. That the cavalry of Chunda Saheb, who had long been without pay refused to act; and were joined by several other corps of the same army. That from the imperious command of Dupleix to evacuate and starve Trichinopoly he had learned to justly much beyond what the smallness of his means rendered advisable; and was weak at every point. That he made every effort to intercept the convey at a distance but the cavalry of Chunda Saheb refused to act; and Assem Khan, after promising to support the detachment, failed, on the pretext that there was not sufficient to give him. See the details, as stated by Law *Plains* p. 23-25. The Commandant in their reply to Dupleix, denied the conduct of Law. *Narrative* Dupleix, p. 74.

This movement has been violently condemned, and Dupleix writes to it the defect of his schemes; but Major Lawrence (*Narrative* p. 31) says that they (the English officers) reckoned it a prudent measure. It is true. From the weakness of the French, better was unavoidable. Law wrote that had they permitted the English to take possession of Serangoon, they were taken in Caroline Lake. He asserts, also that they are ready to act for want of provisions; and that, between abundance of Trichinopoly together and the resolution which he adopted, there was no need to move. The wise course would have been, no doubt, to starve Trichinopoly; and if it were, Law says, he was abundantly ware. Let this be reiterated and repeated commands of Dupleix absolutely forbade. For Assem Khan's defence of La seems to me satisfactory. *Plains* d. Ch. v. Law p. 27-31. Clive says that the enemy burned great stores of provisions, when they passed over the Coleroon; but what Law says, is much more probable—that the army was already be-tasting to be in want.

attacking one of the divisions, might gain a decisive advantage before the other could arrive, Lawrence accepted the advice, and Clive was detached for the performance of the service. It was executed with his usual activity, spirit, and success. Dupleix made the strongest exertions to reinforce and supply his army, but was baffled in every attempt. D'Auteuil, at the head of a large convoy, was first compelled to suspend his march, was afterwards attacked in the fort to which he had retired, and at last taken prisoner. The enemy were soon in distress for provisions, their camp was cannonaded by the English, the troops of Chunda Saheb left his service, and he himself, looking round for the means of personal safety, chose at last to trust to the generosity of the King of Tanjore, and delivered himself, under the promise of protection, into the hands of the Tanjorine commander. The French soon after capitulated, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

BOOK IV
CHAP II
1752.

The fate of Chunda Saheb was lamentable. He was immediately put in fetters by the faithless Tanjorine. A dispute, under the power of which of them he should remain, arose between the Mysorean and Mahratta chiefs, the Tanjorine Generals, and Mohammed Ali. To compromise the dispute, Major Lawrence proposed that he should be confined in one of the English forts. The parties separated without coming to an agreement, and the Tanjorine immediately ordered him to be assassinated. Dupleix affirms that he was murdered by the express command of Major Lawrence, which it is difficult to suppose that Dupleix must not have known to be untrue. But it is true, that Lawrence showed an indifference about his fate which is not very easy to be reconciled with either humanity or wisdom. He well knew that his murder was, in the hands of any of them, the probable, in those of some of them, the certain consequence, of their obtaining the charge of his person. He well knew, that if he demanded him with firmness, they would have all consented to his confinement in an English fort¹. And, if he did not know, it is not the less true, that in the hands of the English he

¹ Orme says it was so proposed by Lawrence, but that the confederates would not assent. At this period, the English were not so well assured of their power as to pretend to dictate to the native princes with whom they co-operated.—W

BOOK IV might have become a powerful instrument with which to
 CHAP. II. counterwork the machinations of Dupleix. At any rate,
 Dupleix, of all men, on this ground, had the least title to
 152. raise an accusation against the English, since he had resolved to imprison for life his unfortunate ally and to reign sole Nabob of the Carnatic himself.¹

The failure of the enemy at Trichinopoly the possession of which both parties appear to have valued too high, produced in the breasts of the English hopes of undisputed superiority and of that tide of riches, which unbounded sway in the affairs of the Carnatic promised to their deluded imaginations. Major Lawrence was in haste to march through the province, investing his triumphant Nabob and saw no place, except Gingee, which he imagined would retard his progress.

He was not a little surprised when the delays of the Nabob indicated much less impatience. The Nabob was, in fact, engaged in a troublesome dispute. Among the inducements which he had employed to gain the assistance of the Mysoreans, he had not scrupled to promise the possession of Trichinopoly and its dependencies. The Mysorean chief now insisted upon performance and the Mahratta captain, who eagerly desired an opportunity of obtaining Trichinopoly for himself encouraged his pretensions.

Intelligence of this dispute was a thunderstroke to Lawrence. His country had paid dear for Trichinopoly; yet now it appeared that it could not be retained, by him for whom it was gained, without a flagrant violation of honour and faith. The violation of honour and faith the Nabal, in the Indian manner treated as a matter of entire insignificance. The Mysorean could not but know he said,

¹ This is directly affirmed by the French East India Company (*Mémoires contre Dupleix*, p. 70) and evidenced by extracts which they produce from the letters to Dupleix written by his own agent at the court of the p. 144. Mr Orme says (l. 252) that the pretence of Nabal was actually procured before Chanda Sahib's death. The truth is, that each of them, Chanda Sahib and himself, wished to get rid of the other and to be Nabob alone: they are endeavouring by mutual treachery to do what each other designs. Mr. M. ut supra, and his Appendix, &c. vi. for the low details, from the *Journal* of Moore's Jung see Orme l. 146-147; History and Management of the East India Company p. 40-42. Carnatic War in India, 16-17; *Mémoires contre Dupleix*, p. 71-77; *Mémoires contre Dupleix*, p. 70-71; *Placets de Chevalier Law*, p. 19-23. Law says, p. 23, that they made some attempts for the escape of Chanda Sahib by water but the river was too shallow at the time to float the boat.

Lawrence's Narrative p. 24.

that such a promise was never made to be fulfilled, and doubtless no Indian can believe of any man, that he will keep more of a promise than it is his interest, or than he is compelled, to keep¹

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1752

After some time lost in altercation, the Nabob promised to fulfil his engagement, and deliver up the fort in two months, and with this the Mysorean, finding no more could be obtained, allowed himself for the present to appear satisfied. The English, leaving a garrison in the fort, set forward to establish their Nabob, but the auxiliary troops of Tanjore, and of Tondeman, had marched to their homes, and the Mysoreans and Mahrattas refused to depart from Trichinopoly.

Dupleix was not reduced to despondency, by the stroke which the English imagined had realized their fondest hopes. As it was the character of this man to form schemes, which from their magnitude appeared romantic, so was it his practice to adhere to them with constancy, even when the disasters which he encountered in their execution seemed to counsel nothing but despair. Nor did the resources of his mind fail to second its firmness. He still found means to oppose a nearly equal, in a little time a more than equal, force to his opponents.

It was resolved, and very unwisely, that the first operation of the English should be the reduction of Gingee, garrisoned by the French, and the only place in the province expected to yield a serious resistance. Major Lawrence condemned this plan of operations, and recommended the previous recovery of the province, and the collection of the rents, but by the influence of Mr Sanders, the President, his opinion was over-ruled.² Dupleix despatched a force for the purpose of seizing the passes of the mountains by which Gingee is surrounded, and of intercepting the English convoys. The detachment of the English army, which had arrived at Gingee, marched to dislodge them, but, instead of succeeding in their object, sustained a defeat.

The French, elevated by this advantage, reinforced their victorious party with as many troops as they found it pos-

¹ Colonel Wilks is very severe on the treachery of the Nabob, and on the English for abetting it. Historical Sketches, ut supra, p. 235—291.

² Lawrence's Narrative, p. 42.

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CHAP. II.

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sible to send into the field. This army by way of triumph, marched close to the very bounds of Fort St. David. A company of Swiss, in the English service, were sent on this emergency from Madras to Fort St. David, in boats, contrary to the advice of Lawrence, who entreated they might be sent in a ship of force; and Dupleix, unrestrained by the vain forms of a treaty of peace subsisting between England and France, while both parties were violating the substance of it every day took them prisoners of war by a ship from Pondicherry road. Lawrence hastened toward the enemy. His force consisted of 400 Europeans, 1700 Sepoys, 4000 troops belonging to the Nabob, and nine pieces of cannon. The French army consisted of 400 Europeans, 1500 Sepoys, and 500 horse; who declined a battle, till Lawrence by a feigned retreat, inspired them with confidence. The action, which took place near Bahoor two miles from Fort St. David was decidedly in favour of the English; but would have been far more destructive to the French had the Nabob's cavalry done their duty who, instead of charging the routed foe betook themselves to the more agreeable operation of plundering their camp. After this seasonable victory Captain Clive was employed, with a small detachment, to reduce the two forts, called Covelong and Chingliput, which he executed with his usual vigour and address and then returned to Europe for his health. About the same time the monsoon compelled the army to withdraw from the field.

During these transactions, Nunjeraj, the Mysorean General, was not idle before Trichinopoly. He made several attempts to get into the fort by surprise as well as to corrupt the troops and his effort kept Captain Dalton, commanding the English garrison, perpetually on the watch. The views of that chief were now also, directed toward the French and so much progress had been made in the adjustment of terms, that a body of 3000 Mahrattas were actually on their march to join the enemy when the victory at Bahoor produced a revolution in their minds and they joined the English, as if they had marched from Trichinopoly with that express design. During the interval of winter-quarters, the negotiations with the French were completed, and the Mahrattas, at an early period,

marched to Pondicherry, while the Mysoreans, to give themselves all possible chances, remained before Trichinopoly, as still allies of the English, but they declared themselves, before the armies resumed their operations, and attacked an advanced post of Captain Dalton's, defended by sixty Europeans and some Sepoys, whom they destroyed to a man

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1752

Before these designs of the Mysorean and Mahratta chiefs were brought to maturity, Major Lawrence had given his advice to seize them, in one of their conferences with Captain Dalton¹. If there was any confidence, during negotiation, reposed in the English by the Indians, beyond what they reposed in one another, a confidence of which the loss would have been risked by such a blow, we are not informed, the danger which might have been averted by securing the persons of those enemies, was of considerable amount.

Dupleix, though so eminently successful in adding to the number of combatants on his side, was reduced to the greatest extremity for pecuniary supplies. The French East India Company were much poorer than even the English, the resources which they furnished from Europe were proportionally feeble, and though perfectly willing to share with Dupleix in the hopes of conquest, when enjoyment was speedily promised, their impatience for gain made them soon tired of the war, and they were now importunately urging Dupleix to find the means of concluding a peace. Under these difficulties Dupleix had employed his own fortune, and his own credit, in answering the demands of the war, and, as a last resource, he now turned his thoughts to Mortaz Ali, the Governor of Velore. He held up to him the prospect of even the Nabobship itself, in hopes of drawing from him the riches which he was reputed to possess. Mortaz Ali repared to Pondicherry, and even advanced a considerable sum, but finding

¹ In justice to Major Lawrence, it must be remarked that this advice was given only upon the detection of a plot, set on foot by the Mysorean general, to assassinate Captain Dalton, and surprise Trichinopoly, there being no open rupture yet even with Mohammed Ali, much less with the English. "It was on the discovery of this," says the Major, "that I proposed Dalton should seize on the Maissorean and Morarow, which he might easily have done by a surprise, as he often had conferences with them, and I must own I thought, in justice, it would have been right to have done it but the Presidency were of another opinion." Lawrence's Narrative, p. 39.—W

BOOK IV that much more was expected, he broke off the negotiation,
 CHAP. II. and retired to his fort.

1752

The contending parties looked forward with altered prospects to the next campaign. By the co-operation of the Mysoreans, and the junction of the Mahrattas, the latter of whom, from the abilities of their leader and their long experience of European warfare, were no contemptible allies, the French had greatly the advantage in numerical force. In the capacity however of their officers, and in the quality of their European troops, they soon felt a remarkable inferiority. Lawrence, without being a man of talents, was an active and clear headed soldier and the troops whom he commanded, both officers and men, appeared, by a happy contingency to combine in their little body all the virtues of a British army. The European troops of the enemy on the other hand, were the very refuse of the French population and Lawrence himself, candidly confessed that their officers were frequently seen, in the hour of action, making the greatest efforts, and without effect, to retain them in their ranks. Among their commanders, not a man showed any talents; and Dupleix with great bitterness complains, that, with the exception of Lussy he never had an officer on whose ability he could place the smallest reliance.*

* In his letter to the French minister dated 16th October 1752, he says the recruits whom the Company sent him were, *crâtes, décréteurs, et lâches*. He says, *L'exemple que vos recruteurs l'Angleterre en a rayé, est que des troupes aguerries auroit du engager la Compagnie à avoir la même attention dans le choix*. He adds *Je ne sais que penser de celui qui est chargé des recrues, mais je crois qu'il y en a pas la science que la Compagnie lui passe pour chaque homme ce à ce sans doute pas votre intention ni la même*. He then says *mais il a eu est pas moins vrai que tout ce qui nous parvient est q. un ramassis de la plus vde canaille* — Permettez moi, *monseigneur de vous supplier de donner à ce sujet les ordres les plus précis* ; *il gloire d'ail y est intéressé car ce petit vers paroitra plus que suffisant pour valoir toute votre attention*. Je *vous prie de dire tous les moyens propres qui se trouvent sur l'état de ces malheureuses troupes* ; *l'Anglais en fait de guerre habile, il n'a eu que trop d'attention de les mépriser* ; *les Maures et les Indes commencent à perdre la haine que'ils ont contre vous de peur, et non d'être en se montrant que malgré eux à leur tête* ; *ce n'est qu'un cri à ce sujet*. *Mémoire pour l'Angleterre*, l'Évêque Justifié. Lett. de M. Dupleix, à M. de Macaulay, p. 40. In the same letter he says, *Pour les officiers il y en a peu, ou pour mieux dire pas* ; *il n'y a point de tant qui soient en état de commander* ; *la bravoure de leur nation ne leur fait pas* ; *mais les talents n'y répondent pas* ; *dans le nombre sur-tout de ceux arrivés à un âge d'ailleurs la plupart n'étaient que des enfans, sans la moindre teinture d'artillerie* ; *le soldat en manque et souvent avec juste raison*. *Idem*, p. 51. April — In the same letter of the services of Pussy long with Ballou Jeng, he says, *Si l'on voit un second lot, je vous prie de m'indiquer que soient les affaires de cette partie seraient terminées, il y a plus de des ans*. *Idem*, p. 57. *For was this an empty boast. He never was he to the presumption merit of his object, without any such important auxiliary that the talent of man like Pussy in the Carnatic, could even have placed him at its head.*

Early in January the two armies again took the field. The French, consisting of 500 European infantry and sixty horse, 2000 Sepoys, and 4000 Mahrattas, commanded by Morari Row. The English consisted of 700 European infantry, 2000 Sepoys, and 1500 horse belonging to the Nabob. The French, to avail themselves of their superiority in cavalry, avoided an action, and employed themselves in making war upon the English convoys. This they did, with so much effect, that Major Lawrence was frequently obliged to escort his stores and provisions with his whole army from Fort St David. In this manner the time was consumed till the 20th of April, when an express arrived from Captain Dalton, that he had only three weeks' provisions remaining in the fort.

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CHAP II

1753

When the English, after the capitulation of the French at Seringham, marched from Trichinopoly, and left Captain Dalton Commandant of the English garrison, the brother of the Nabob was at the same time appointed Governor of the town. By an unhappy oversight the magazines were left under direction of the Mohammedan Governor, and Captain Dalton satisfied himself with asking, from time to time, in what condition they remained. When the Mysoreans, however, had shut him up in his fort, and, scouring the adjacent country with their cavalry, had prevented for some time the arrival of supplies, it occurred to him, rather too late, that he had better see with his own eyes on what he had to depend. His ally, he found, had been selling the provisions at an enormous price to the people of the town, and he was left in that alarming condition, of which he hastened to make report to Major Lawrence.

Only one resolution was left to the English commander, that of marching directly to the support of Trichinopoly. His army suffered greatly on the march, both by desertion and sickness, and, upon his arrival at the place, he found that all the force he could muster for offensive operations, after leaving the proportion necessary for the duties of the garrison, consisted of 500 Europeans, and 2000 Sepoys. The Nabob had 3000 horse, but they were badly paid, and executed their duty with proportional neglect and disobedience. The French followed with 200 Europeans and 500 Sepoys, to the support of the Mysoreans, and Trichinopoly

BOOK IV became once more the seat of a tedious and harassing
 CHAP. II. warfare.

1751

It deserves remark, that Major Lawrence, who had recommended the seizure of the Mysorean and Mahratta chiefs, uniformly disapproved of the attempt to retain Trichinopoly after the promise to give it up.¹ It is equally worthy of remark, that the delicacy of the Presidency withheld their hands from the persons of the hostile chiefs; but easily endured the violation of the engagement respecting Trichinopoly. Delicacy would have been less violated in the one instance, by following the advice of Lawrence, and prudence would have been more consulted by following it in both. The cession of Trichinopoly to the Mysoreans would have enabled the English to establish their nabob, with little opposition, in the sovereignty of the Carnatic, and would have saved them from two years of expensive warfare.

It was on the 6th of May 1753, that Major Lawrence again arrived at Trichinopoly and from that day to the 11th of October 1754, the most active operations were carried on. Neither the French, with their allies, were sufficiently powerful to reduce Trichinopoly nor had the English sufficient force to compel them to raise the siege. The two parties, therefore, bent their endeavours; the English, to supply the garrison with a sufficient quantity of food, to enable them to prosecute their objects in another quarter; the French, by cutting off the supplies, to compel the garrison to surrender. On both sides the greatest exertions were made; severe conflicts were frequently sustained, in some of which decisive advantages, at one time on one side at another on the other were on the point of being gained: and never did English troops display more gallantry and good conduct, than in defence of the unimportant city of Trichinopoly. More than a year had been spent and neither of the contending parties seemed nearer their object, when a new scene was introduced.²

¹ This fact is stated on the satisfactory authority of Col. Wills. He had an opportunity of perusing the correspondence of Lawrence with the President of Madras. See also his *Narrative*, at supra, p. 312.

² For this war Lawrence's *Narrative*, in Cambridge War p. 26-43; *MSA*, L 243-267 273-277 277-363; *MSA*, *Pres. Doc.*, xix, p. 71-111; *MSA*, *SI*, xxvii, p. 2-3-317 yield the most important materials.

The objects, which fired the ambition of the European BOOK IV
 governors in India, were too distant to warm the imagi- CHAP II
 nations of the Directors and Proprietors of the French and
 English Companies in Europe, and to them the burden of
 the war had become exceedingly hateful. Aware of the
 passion for peace which now animated his employers, and
 of the opinion disseminated in Europe of his ambitious
 and warlike views, Dupleix had opened a negotiation with
 Saunders, the Governor of Madras, in January, 1754. The
 real point in dispute was whether or not Mohammed Ali
 should be acknowledged Nabob of the Carnatic, the
 English contending that he should be recognised by the
 French, the French contending that he should be given up
 by the English. The parties were far from being disposed,
 on either side, to concede the point, and the state of cir-
 cumstances was little calculated to facilitate a compromise.
 The negotiation turned, therefore, on matters of form, and
 never, surely, did negotiation find more ridiculous matters
 of form on which to employ itself. In a country in which
 all questions of dominion are determined by the sword,
 on a question which, without any consideration of right,
 they themselves had, during four years, been labouring to
 decide by the sword, they affected to sit down gravely to a
 comparison of pretended titles and grants. The authority
 to which both parties appealed was that of the Mogul,
 though the Mogul himself, in the district in question, was
 a usurper, and that of a very recent date, though the
 power, too, of the Mogul was such, that he had no more
 authority in the Deccan than he had at Rome. The autho-
 rity on which the government of the Carnatic immediately
 depended was that of the Subahdar of the Deccan, and
 the Subahdar of the Deccan was Salabut Jung, the friend
 of the French. so far, in point of title, they had the
 undoubted advantage. The patents, however, which Du-
 pleix had received from Salabut Jung, and which placed
 the nabobship of the Carnatic entirely at his disposal, he
 asserted to have been confirmed by the Mogul. The Eng-
 lish, on their side, affirmed that they had a patent consti-
 tuting Mohammed Ali Nabob of the Carnatic, and they
 called upon the French to produce their documents. The
 French did exhibit some papers, which the English, and
 probably with truth, asserted to be forged. The English

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 1751.

were expelled from Bengal and the influence of Bussy was paramount at the court of the Subahdar had Dupleix remained at the head of French affairs in India, the scheme of that enterprising governor to render himself master of the Carnatic, and the Subahdar master of Bengal, would have stood a fair chance of complete accomplishment.

On the second of August, 1754, M. Godheu appointed commissary to negotiate a peace with the English, and vested with authority to supersede Dupleix in the government of all the French possessions in India, arrived at Pondicherry. Dupleix affirms, that in the negotiations at London, for the sake of removing all local prejudices and views, it had been established that the governors in India on both sides should be removed; and commissioners, free from all bias, should be sent from England to terminate the costly disputes.¹ If this was a condition really made, the French, it would appear consented to a departure from it, as they raised no complaint against Mr Saunders, who continued the President of Madras. The English, in this manner obtained the important advantage of having the negotiation conducted on their side by a person conversant with the affairs and interests of the two nations in India, while it was conducted, on the part of their antagonists, by a man to whom they were in a great measure unknown.

Godheu lost no time in taking upon himself the exercise of his authority and in commencing his negotiations with Saunders. The strong desire of his employers for peace appears to have been the predominating consideration in his mind; and he manifested, from the beginning, a disposition to concede, of which the English made ample advantage. On the 11th of October a suspension of arms was established for three months; and on the 6th of December a provisional treaty to be confirmed or altered in Europe was signed at Pondicherry. By this treaty everything for which they had been contending was gained by the English; every advantage of which they had come into possession was given up by the French. By the all

¹ *Mém. pour Dupleix*, p. 92. A this assertion (made before persons highly competent to contradict it, and for which an appeal is made to the *Journal of Dupleix*) is not denied in the Answer of the Company to the *Mémoire* of Dupleix, it is entitled to credit.

pulation to withdraw effectually from interference in the affairs of the native princes, Mohammed Ali was left, by the fact, Nabob of the Carnatic or Arcot. And by the stipulation to arrange the territorial possessions of the two nations on the principle of equality, the important acquisition of the four Circars was resigned.¹ Till the decision of the two Companies in Europe should be given, the contracting parties were to abstain from hostilities, direct or indirect, and their possessions to remain as they were.

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That the severe strictures which Dupleix made upon his treaty were in some degree overcharged, is not to be denied. There is no reason to believe him, when he asserts that Trichinopoly was on the point of surrendering for want of supplies, for, at the time of the suspension of arms, the relative advantages of the contending parties appear to have been nearly the same as they had been twelve months before. It is equally impossible to believe, that the English writers affirm, that the advantages of the English were now so great as to make it politic on the part of the French to conclude the treaty, unfavourable as it was. Admiral Watson had indeed arrived with a fleet, consisting of three ships and a sloop, having on board a king's regiment of 700 men, with forty artillerymen, and 200 recruits. But 1500 European troops had arrived with Godheu on the part of the French,² and Dupleix boasts, with some reason, that he could have added to these the Mahrattas, the Mysoreans, and, on certain conditions, the King of Tanjore.³ Bussy, too, had improved with so much ability his situation with Salabut

¹ Col Wilks (p 345) must have read the treaty very carelessly, to imagine that "the substantial Moorish government and dignity of the extensive and valuable provinces of the Northern Circars were not noticed in the treaty," when the very first article of the treaty says, "The two Companies, English and French, shall renounce for ever all Moorish government and dignity, and shall never interfere in any differences that arise between the princes of the country." Mr Orme, too (so easily is the judgment warped of the best of men when their passions are engaged), imagined it would have been no infringement of the treaty, to assist the Mahrattas with English troops from Bombay, for the purpose of compelling Salabut Jung to dismiss Bussy and the French, and deprive them of the Northern Circars. Orme, i 406.

² This is the number stated by Lawrence, Narrative, p 95, Orme, i 371, calls it 1200. Godheu, in his letter to Dupleix, received two days before his landing, calls it 2000 (*Mém pour Dupleix*, p 101). And Dupleix himself asserts (*Ibid* p 111), that by the troops newly arrived his force was rendered superior to that of the English.

³ *Mémoire pour Dupleix*, p 111.

BOOK IV Jung that he ruled in a great measure the councils of the
 CHAP. II Subahdar of the Deccan.

1751.

After displaying, in the most brilliant manner the extraordinary superiority of European soldiers, in the subjugation of the Patan rebels, he compelled Salabat Jung to raise the son of Moonsiffer Jung, the late Subahdar and friend of the French, to the government, originally enjoyed by that unfortunate prince of the strong-hold of Adoni and its territory augmented by the possessions of two of the Patan nobles, by whose treachery the father was slain. "An example of generosity" says Mr Orme, "which, if true, could not fail to raise admiration in a country where the merits of the father are so seldom of advantage to the distresses of the son."

The settlement of the dominions of Salabat Jung was formidably opposed by the Mahrattas, who, in the weakness which ensued upon the death of Nizam al Mulk, were actively employed in adding to their conquests as much as possible of the Subah of the Deccan. A Mahratta general, named Dalajee Row had opposed himself at the head of 25,000 horse, to the march of the Subahdar between the Kistnah and Golconda, but, by negotiation and a suitable present, was induced to withdraw. Within a few months he appeared again, with a force which would have enabled him to gain important advantages, had not the talents of Dury and the execution of European firearms, which astonished the Indians, decided in a variety of engagements the fortune of the day. Danger came not from one quarter alone. Chaze al din Khan, the eldest son of Nizam al Mulk, destined by his father to maintain the interests of his family at the court of the Mogul, had apparently acquiesced in the accession of his second brother to the government of the Deccan, to which, as to a destined event, he had been accustomed to look. Upon the death, however of Nazir Jung as he had become very uneasy in his situation at court, he solicited, as the eldest son and successor of Nizam al Mulk, the appointment of Subahdar of the Deccan. The assent of the Emperor which was now a mere form without power was easily obtained and Chaze al din arrived at Aurunghabad in the beginning of October 1751, at the head, it is said, of

150,000 men, of whom a large body were Mahrattas, commanded by Holkar Malhar Rao At the same time Balajee Row, and another Mahratta general, named Ragojee Bonsla, in concert, it is said, with Ghazee ad din Khan, entered the province of Golconda with 100,000 horse To meet these formidable armies, Salabut Jung and Bussy took the field with very unequal numbers, when Ghazee ad din Khan suddenly died. He was an old man, worn out by the pleasures of the harem, and his sudden death was by no means a surprising event, but, as it was singularly opportune for Salabut Jung, it was ascribed to poison, said to be administered, at his instigation, by the mother of the deceased, and, as the event was favourable to the French, the story of its odious cause has been adopted, with patriotic credulity, by the English historians.¹ The Mahratta generals still continued the war, but were in every encounter repulsed with so much slaughter by the French, that they soon became desirous of peace, and Salabut Jung was happy to purchase their retreat by the cession of some districts to Balajee Row, in the neighbourhood of Boorhanpoor, and to Ragojee Bonsla, in the neighbourhood of Berar, where that Mahratta chief had acquired for himself an extensive dominion. By the services which, in all these dangers, Bussy had rendered to the cause of Salabut Jung,² whom he alone preserved upon the throne, his influence with that prince had risen to the greatest height and though the envy and jealousy of the ministers, and the weak character of the Subahdar, exposed his power to perpetual jeopardy, and on one occasion, when he was absent for the recovery of his health, had almost destroyed it, the prudence and dexterity of that able leader enabled him to triumph over all opposition In the latter end of 1753, he obtained for his country

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¹ The author of the *Seer Mutakhareen*, whom, as better informed, I follow in all affairs relating at this period to the Court of Delhi, says (iii 19), that he died suddenly, without any mention of poison The story of the poison is indeed, presented in a note by the translator, who does not, however, impute the fact to the mother of Ghazee ad Din, but to the ladies of his harem in general

² The oriental historian describes the efficacy of the French operations in battle in such expressions as these "At which time the French, with their quick musketry and their expeditious artillery, drew smoke from the Mahratta breasts" "they lost a vast number of men, whom the French consumed in shoals at the fire altars of their artillery" *Seer Mutakhareen*, ii 118

BOOK IV the four important provinces of Mustaphanagar Ellore
 CHAP. II. Rajamundry and Chiccoole, called the Northern Circars
 1751. "which made the French, says Mr Orme, "masters of
 the sea-coast of Coromandel and Oriza, in an uninterrupted
 line of 600 miles from Medapilly to the Pagoda of Jager-
 naut "1 and "which, says Colonel Wilks, "not only
 afforded the requisite pecuniary resources, but furnished
 the convenient means of receiving reinforcements of men
 and military stores from Pondicherry and Mauritius; and
 thus enabled Bussy to extend his political views to the
 indirect or absolute empire of the Deccan and the south."²
 All these brilliant advantages were now cordially resigned
 by M. Godheu and it will certainly be allowed that few
 nations have ever made, to the love of peace, sacrifices
 relatively more important

"Dupleix," says Mr Orme, whose concluding strictures
 upon his enemy are equally honourable to the writer and
 the subject, departed on his voyage to Europe on the
 14th of October having first delivered his accounts with
 the French Company to M. Godheu, by which it appeared
 that he had disbursed on their account near three millions
 of rupees more than he had received during the course of
 the war. A great part of this sum was furnished out of
 his own estate, and the rest from moneys which he bor-
 rowed at interest, from the French inhabitants at Pondi-
 cherry upon bonds given in his own name. M. Godheu
 referred the discussion of these accounts to the Directors
 of the Company in France, who, pretending that M. Du-
 pleix had made these expenses without sufficient authority
 refused to pay any part of the large balance he asserted to
 be due to him; upon which he commenced a law-suit
 against the Company but the ministry interfered and put
 a stop to the proceedings by the king's authority without
 entering into any discussion of M. Dupleix's claims, or
 taking any measures to satisfy them. However they gave
 him letters of protection to secure him from being pro-
 secuted by any of his creditors. So that his fortune was
 left much less than that which he was possessed of before
 he entered upon the government of Pondicherry in 1722.
 His conduct certainly merited a very different reward
 from his nation, which never had a subject so desirous

¹ Orme, l. 324.

² Wilks, at supra, p. 326.

and capable of extending its reputation and power in the East Indies, had he been supplied with the forces he desired immediately after the death of Anwar-ad-din Khan, or had he afterwards been supported from France in the manner necessary to carry on the extensive projects he had formed, there is no doubt but that he would have placed Chunda Saheb in the Nabobship of the Carnatic, given law to the Subah of the Deccan, and perhaps to the throne of Delhi itself, and have established a sovereignty over many of the most valuable provinces of the empire, armed with which power he would easy have reduced all the other European settlements to such restrictions as he might think proper to impose. When we consider that he formed this plan of conquest and dominion at a time when all other Europeans entertained the highest opinion of the strength of the Mogul government, suffering tamely the insolence of its meanest officers, rather than venture to make resistance against a power which they chimerically imagined to be capable of overwhelming them in an instant, we cannot refrain from acknowledging and admiring the sagacity of his genius, which first discovered and despised this illusion"¹

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CHAP II

1754

In a short time after the conclusion of this treaty, both Saunders and Godheu took their departure for Europe, pleasing themselves with the consideration that, by means of their exertions, the blessings of peace between the two nations in India were now permanently bestowed. Never was expectation more completely deceived. Their treaty procured not so much as a moment's repose. The English proceeded to reduce to the obedience of then Nabob the districts of Madura and Tinivelly. The French exclaimed against these transactions, as an infringement of the treaty with Godheu, but finding their remonstrances without avail, they followed the English example, and sent a body of troops to reduce to their obedience the petty sovereignty of Terriore.

Madura was a small kingdom, bordering on Trichinopoly towards the south, and Tinivelly was a kingdom of similar extent, reaching from the southern extremity of Madura

¹ Orme, i 377. Voltaire says (*Précis du Siècle de Louis XIV* ch xxxix), Dupleix fut réduit à disputer à Paris les tristes restes de sa fortune contre la Compagnie des Indes, et à solliciter des audiences dans l'anti-chambre de ses juges. Il en mourut bientôt de chagrin.

BOOK IV to Cape Comorin. These countries had acknowledged the
 CHAP. II. supremacy of the Mogul government of the Deccan, and
 had paid tribute through the Nabob of Arcot. When
 1751. Chunda Sahib was master of Trichinopoly he had set up
 his own brother as Governor of Madura but during the
 disturbances which followed, a soldier of fortune, named
 Aulum Khan, obtained possession of the city and govern-
 ment. When Aulum Khan marched to the assistance of
 Chunda Sahib at Trichinopoly where he lost his life, he
 left four Patan chiefs to conduct his government, who
 acted as independent princes, notwithstanding the preten-
 sions of Mohammed Ali, as Nabob of Arcot. To compro-
 mise the dispute about Trichinopoly Mohammed Ali had
 offered to resign Madura to the Mysoreans. And upon his
 liberation from the terror of the French arms, by the treaty
 of Godhea, he prevailed upon the English to afford him a
 body of troops to collect, as he hoped, and as the English
 believed, a large arrears of tribute from the southern
 dependencies of his nabobship.

The troops proceeded to the city of Madura, which they
 took. The Polygars, as they are called the lords, or petty
 sovereigns of the several districts overawed by the terror
 of European arms, offered their submissions, and promised
 to discharge the demanded arrears but for the present
 had little or nothing which they were able to pay. Instead
 of the quantity of treasure which the Nabob and the English
 expected to receive, the money collected sufficed not to
 defray the expense of the expedition. The disappointment
 and ill-humour were consequently great. The conduct of
 the English officer who commanded became the subject of
 blame. He formed a connexion, which promised to be of
 considerable importance with Maravar a district, governed
 by two Polygars, which extended along the coast on the
 eastern side of Madura, from the kingdom of Tanjore till
 it joined Tinivelly but this connexion gave umbrage to
 the Polygar Tondeman, and the Raja of Tanjore in satis-
 faction to whom it was renounced. With Maphuz Khan
 the brother of the Nabob, who attended the expedition,
 as future governor of the country the officer formed an
 agreement, at a rent which was afterwards condemned, as
 not one half of the requisite amount; and the English
 detachment, upon its return, was imprudently exposed in
 a narrow pass where it suffered severely by the jealousy of

the country From all these causes, the existing displeasure found an object and a victim, in the unlucky officer, who was tried, and dismissed from the Company's service ¹

BOOK IV
CHAP II
1755

About the same time with these transactions in Madura, Salabut Jung, accompanied by Bussy and the French troops, marched against the kingdom of Mysore, to extort arrears of tribute, said to be due from it, as a dependency of the Subah of the Deccan. Upon this emergency, the Mysorean army before Trichinopoly (the Mysoreans had refused to abandon their pretensions upon Trichinopoly, when the treaty was concluded between the English and French,) was recalled. As the Mysoreans were threatened at the same time by an army of Mahrattas under Balajee Row, they were happy to acquire the protection of Salabut Jung, by acknowledging his authority, and paying as large a sum as it was possible for them to raise

By the departure of the Mysoreans from Trichinopoly, Mohammed Ali was left without an ostensible opponent in the Carnatic and he was vested, as pompously as circumstances would permit, with the ensigns of his office and dignity, at Arcot It still remained to compel the Zemindars or Polygars, and other Governors of forts and districts, to yield him a revenue The English, after stipulating to receive one half of all the moneys collected, sent with him a large detachment to enforce a tribute from the northern chiefs, who recognised the authority of the Nabob, and produced a portion of the demanded sums The reputed riches of Mortiz Ali, the Governor of Velore, rendered his subjugation the main object of desire The English detachment was strongly reinforced, and encamped with the Nabob within cannon-shot of the fort Mortiz Ali applied to the French M Deleyrit, who was Governor of Pondicherry, informed the English Presidency, that he regarded their proceedings at Velore as a violation of the treaty, and that he should commence hostilities, if their troops were not immediately withdrawn The English rulers, soon aware that Velore could not be easily taken, and unwilling to put to proof the threat of Deleyrit, who had made 700 Europeans and 2000 Sepoys take the field, recalled the army to Madras An attempt was made to

¹ Orme, i 380—387, Cambridge's War in India, p 109—113

BOOK IV
CHAP. II.

1753.

obtain a contribution for the Company from Mortiz Ali, but the negotiation terminated without any effect.¹

Meanwhile the Polygars of Madura and Tinivelly who had made an ostensible submission during the presence of the English troops, were affording dangerous employment to the Governor Maphuz Khan. A confederacy was formed, which it soon appeared that the Governor was altogether unable to withstand. The English sent a large body of Sipoys; but in spite of this support, the refractory chiefs continued unsubdued. the country was thrown into confusion by a petty warfare which extended itself into every corner of the provinces, and no tribute could be raised. Highly dissatisfied with the unproductive state of a country which they had fondly believed to be the richest dependency of the Carnatic Nabob, the English determined to manage it themselves and Maphuz Khan was ordered to return to Trichinopoly. But the chief entered immediately into confederacy with the Polygars; set himself in opposition to the English. obtained possession of the town and fort of Madura by a stratagem and, with much uneasiness to the English, the disturbances in Madura and Tinivelly were prolonged for several years.²

During these transactions of the English, not very consistent with their agreement not to interfere in the disputes of the native princes, or add to their territory in India, the French were restrained from that active opposition which, otherwise, it is probable they would have raised, by the dangerous situation of their affairs under the government of the Subahdar.

The enemies of Bussy in the service and in the confidence of Salabut Jung, were both numerous and powerful; and exerted themselves in concert and with eagerness, to change the confidence and attachment of their feeble-minded master into distrust and hatred. It was now about two years and a half since the grant of the northern Circars; when certain favourable circumstances³

¹ Orme I. 348. 359. 419; Connelley p. 111. 117. 113.

² Orme I. 399, 430; Connelley p. 122.

It is not extraordinary that there should have been a strong party in the court of the Nizam opposed to the French, who were really the greatest of every opportunity to influence the mind of Salabut Jung against them. Native accounts confirm the statement of Orme that Fakhrooza Khan, the Minister, was at their head; the circumstance of which he made no mention might have been related, as it is fully detailed by Orme. The Nizam had sent

enabled them to make so deep an impression on the mind of this prince, that the French troops were ordered to quit his territories without delay Bussy, in expectation, probably, that the necessities of the Subahdar would speedily make him eager to retract his command, showed no hesitation in commencing his march It was continued for eight days without interruption but his enemies had a very different intention from that of allowing him to depart in safety When he approached the city of Hyderabad, he found his progress impeded by large bodies of troops, and the road obstructed by all the chiefs of the neighbouring countries, who had orders to intercept his march Upon this he resolved to occupy a post of considerable strength, adjoining the city of Hyderabad, to defend himself, and try the effect of his arms, and of his intrigues among the chiefs, whom he well knew, till the reinforcements which he expected from Pondicherry should arrive Though surrounded by the whole of the army of the Subahdar, and so feeble in pecuniary means, that his Sepoys deserted for want of pay, and he durst not venture them in sallies, for fear of their joining the enemy, he found the means of supplying himself fully with provisions, and of resisting every attack, till his succours arrived, when the Subahdar sent to demand a reconciliation, and he was restored to a still higher degree of influence and authority than he had previously enjoyed

Among the means which had been employed to reconcile the mind of Salabut Jung to the dismissal of the French, was the prospect held up to him of replacing them by the English No sooner, therefore, were the measures against Bussy devised, than an application was made for a body of troops to the Presidency of Madras To the Presidency of Madras, few things could have presented a more dazzling

siege to Savanore, the residence of a disobedient vassal, who was supported in his resistance by the Mahratta partisan, Morari Rao The government of Pondicherry was indebted to the latter, who finding himself and his ally hard pressed, engaged to relinquish his claims upon the French on condition that Bussy, who was with the Nizam, should negotiate a peace, and the preservation of the citadel of Savanore The condition was effected, and Shahnavaz Khan represented to the Nizam what was no more than the truth, that Bussy had preferred the interests of his countrymen to those of Salabut Jung It was in resentment of this conduct that the French were dismissed from his service, upon the strong representation, as is stated by the author of the life of Shahnavaz Khan, of that nobleman Calcutta Quarterly Magazine, Dec 1825 —W.

BOOK IV
CHAP. III.

I. 32.

prospect of advantage and in any ordinary situation of their affairs, the requisition of the Subahdar would have met with an eager acceptance. But events had before this time taken place in Bengal, which demanded the utmost exertions of the English from every quarter made them unable to comply with the proposal of the Subahdar and thenceforward rendered Bengal the principal scene of the English adventures in India.¹

CHAPTER III.

*Siraja Dowla, Subahdar of Bengal—takes Calcutta—
attacked by an army from Madras—dethroned—Meer
Jaffier set up in his stead*

DURING the latter part of the reign of Aurungzeb, the Subahs of Bengal and Orissa, together with those of Allahabad and Bahar were governed by his grandson Azem-oo-Shan, the second son of Shah Aulum, who succeeded to the throne. Azem-oo-Shan appointed as his deputy in the provinces of Bengal and Orissa, Jaffier Khan, who had been for some time the dewan, or superintendent of the finances, in Bengal a man of Tartar descent, but a native of Boorhanpore in the Deccan, who had raised himself to eminence in the wars of Aurungzeb. Upon the death of Shah Aulum, and the confusions which ensued, Jaffier Khan remained in possession of his important government, till he was too powerful to be removed. While yet a resident in his native city he had married his daughter and only child to a man of eminence in the same place and of similar origin with himself, by name Shujah Khan. This relative had repaired with him to Bengal and when Jaffier Khan was elevated to the Subahdarry of Bengal and Orissa, Orissa was placed under the government of Shujah Khan, as deputy or nawab of the subahdar.*

¹ Ouseley, I. 435—436, and II. 95—104; WEL. p. 240—241. It is asserted that they are the account of Henry Trumhew, one of its tried servants, in the poem of Ouseley Cambridge (War in India, p. 122—123), written under his influence, and falseness of which is proved by the still stronger and liberal narratives of Ouseley and of W. H. A.

See Mr. Halliwell, I. 17 42, 276.

Among the adventurers who had been in the service of Azeem Shah, the second son of Aurungzeb, was a Tartar, named Mirza Mohammed. Upon the death of that prince, and the ruin of his party, Mirza Mohammed remained without employment, and was overtaken, after some years, with great poverty. His wife not only belonged to the same place from which the family of Shujah Khan was derived, but was actually of kin to that new ruler. By this wife he had two sons, the eldest named Hajee Ahmed, the youngest, Mirza Mohammed Ali. Upon the news of the elevation of their kinsman, it was determined, in this destitute family, that Mirza Mohammed, with his wife, should repair to his capital, in hopes of receiving his protection and bounty. The disposition of Shujah Khan was benevolent and generous. He received them with favour. The success of his father and mother induced Mirza Mohammed Ali, the youngest of the two sons, to hope for similar advantages. With great difficulty his poverty allowed him to find the means of performing the journey. He obtained employment and distinction. His prospects being now favourable, he sent for his brother Hajee Ahmed, and removed the whole of his family to Orissa. The talents of the two brothers were eminent. Hajee Ahmed was insinuating, pliant, discerning, and in business equally skilful and assiduous. Mirza Mohammed Ali to all the address and intelligence of his brother added the highest talents for war. They soon acquired a complete ascendancy in the councils of Shujah Khan, and by their abilities added greatly to the strength and splendour of his administration.

Jaffier Khan died in 1725, but destined Sereffraz Khan his grandson, instead of Shujah Khan, the father of that prince, with whom he lived not on friendly terms, to the succession. By the address and activity of the two brothers, the schemes of Jaffier were entirely defeated, patents were procured from Delhi, and Shujah Khan, with an army, was in possession of the capital and the government before any time was given to think of opposition. The province of Bahar was added to the government of Shujah Khan in 1729, and the younger of the two brothers, on whom was bestowed the title of Aliverdi Khan, was intrusted with its administration. He exerted

BOOK IV himself, with assiduity and skill, to give prosperity to the
 CHAP. III. province, and to acquire strength in expectation of future
 1753. events. In 1730, the same year in which Nadir Shah
 ravaged Delhi, Shujah Khan died, and was succeeded by
 Sereffraz Khan, his son. Sereffraz Khan had been educated
 a prince; and had the incapacity and the servile subjec-
 tion to pleasure, which that education usually implies.
 He hated the brothers and began with disgusting and
 affronting when he should have either exterminated, or
 reconciled. The resolution of Aliverdi was soon taken.
 He employed his influence, which was great, at Delhi, to
 obtain his nomination to the government of Bengal and
 the united provinces; and marched with an army to de-
 throne Sereffraz, who lost his life in the battle. With the
 exception of the Governor of Orissa, whom he soon re-
 duced, the whole country submitted without opposition.
 He governed it with unusual humanity and justice; and
 defended it with splendid ability and unwearied perse-
 verance.

The Mahrattas, who had spread themselves at this time
 over a great part of the continent of India, seemed resolved
 upon the conquest of Bengal, the richest portion of the
 Mogul empire. The dependence of the greatest events
 upon the slightest causes is often exemplified in Asiatic
 story. Had Sereffraz Khan remained Subahdar of Bengal,
 the Mahrattas might have added it, and all the adjoining
 provinces, to their extensive dominion. The English, and
 other European factories, might have been expelled. No-
 thing afterwards remained to check the Mahratta progress.
 The Mohammedans might have been exterminated; and
 the government of Brahmens and Kshatriyas might have
 extended once more from Canbul to Cape Comorin.

Aliverdi was on his return from the expedition against
 the Governor of Orissa, and had disbanded a great portion
 of his army in contemplation of tranquillity and enjoy-
 ment, when he learned that a large army of Mahrattas
 had entered through the valleys in the mountains, at eight
 days journey west of his capital Moorahelabad. The
 Mahrattas, besides possessing themselves of Handish and

¹ Haldwell (*Interesting Historical Events*, l. 78) represents his conduct as
 high, cruel and unjust, and gives an account of five baskets of human heads
 which he saw conveying to him in a boat.

² See *Metakharva*, l. 224-225; *Orissa* II. 24-25.

Malwa, had, before this period, overrun and subdued the whole province of Berar, where a general, named Ragojee Bonsla, of the family of Sivajee, had established himself in a widely-extended sovereignty which acknowledged but a nominal subjection to the primitive throne. The dominions of Ragojee Bonsla were separated from Bahar, Bengal, and Orissa, by only a chain of mountains, which it was easy for the Mahrattas to penetrate in many parts. And now it was that the said chief, either urged by the hope of adding the richest part of Hindustan to his empire, or at the instigation, as was alleged, of Nizam al Mulk, sent an army under a Brahmen general to invade Bengal¹. Aliverdi marched against them instantly with the small number of troops which he had about his person, and was hardy enough to venture a battle, but the Afghan troops in his service were discontented with some recent treatment, and were inclined to make their advantage of his necessities. They acted coldly and feebly during the engagement. Aliverdi found it difficult to avoid a total defeat, and remained surrounded on all sides by a numerous and active enemy. He resolved to fight his way back, and though he suffered prodigiously from the sword, from fatigue, and from famine, he effected a glorious retreat, but reached not his capital till a detachment of the enemy had taken and plundered the suburbs².

The Mahrattas, instead of returning to their own country, determined to remain during the period of the rains and collected the revenue of almost the whole of territory south of the Ganges. Aliverdi made the greatest exertions to collect an army, and marching out at the termination of the rains, surprised the Mahrattas in their camp, and put them to flight, pursued them from post

¹ The Mahratta accounts, which appear to be most authentic, refer the invasion of Bengal to a different cause—the invitation of Meer Hubeeb, the Dewan of the Governor of Orissa. The Mahrattas, however, were too late in their invasion of the latter province, and therefore turned northwards, penetrating into the districts of Midnapore and Burdwan, in the latter they defeated Aliverdi Khan. They were prevented from following up their success, and marching to Moorshedabad, by the rise of the Ganges, but a party of horse under Meer Hubeeb made a predatory incursion to the capital, where he carried off his brother, and plundered the banker Jagat Set of two millions and a half sterling, in Arcot Rupees. Seer Mutakhareen, i 426 —W

² Holwell, who was in the province, and must have had opportunities of learning many of the particulars, gives (Interesting Historical Events, i 118) a detailed account of this retreat, which he celebrates as one of the most brilliant exploits in the annals of warfare.

BOOK IV to post and at last compelled them to evacuate his dominions.¹

1753

If Aliverdi flattered himself that he was now delivered from a dangerous foe, he knew not the people with whom he had to contend. The Mahrattas appeared the very next year with Ragojee Bonala himself at their head. Another army of Mahrattas, belonging to the government of Satarah, entered the province; but whether with hostile or friendly intentions, is variously asserted. It is not doubtful that, at this time, Aliverdi delivered himself from his enemies by a sum of money upon receipt of which they retired.

After a little time the general of Ragojee again entered by the province of Orissa, whence he advanced towards Bengal. By a train of artful and base negotiation, he was brought to trust himself at a conference in the tent of Aliverdi. He was there assassinated; and his death was the signal of dispersion to his troops.

The next invasion of the Mahrattas was encouraged by the rebellion of one of Aliverdi's principal officers. The good fortune of that chief still seconded his vigour. The formidable rebel was killed in battle, and the Mahrattas were compelled to retire.

The Mahratta pressure, incessantly returning, though frequently repelled, seldom failed, in the long run, to make the opposing body recede. The subjects of Aliverdi were grievously harassed, and the produce of his dominions was greatly impaired by these numerous invasions, and by the military exertions which were necessary to oppose them. In a new incursion, headed by Janojee the son of Ragojee the Mahrattas possessed themselves almost com-

¹ Seeer Mutakhharren, l. 407—414; Orme p. 21. Both Orme and the author of the Seer Mutakhharren mention the death of Miran ul Mulk, but after all it seems to have been only a success of fortune; and there were motives enough to Ragojee Bonala without prompting Aliverdi (I read in H. Stewart's History, l. 104) says they were instigated by the court of Delhi.

The author of the Seer Mutakhharren, who had the best opportunities of knowing, says (l. 450) that the Emperor claimed, as due on account of the payment of the tribute, the assistance of the province of Berharr, of the government of Orissa, and of Patodee Purnia; and that he asked them for this request, that the army of Lalajee Row came to Bengal. Hume, l. 144, l. 409—l. 37. That the two armies came to Bengal, and only defeated about two di laka of plunder.—H.

The native authority is best entitled to confirm these reports, as the Emperor and Ragojee Bonala had been at variance and were not in perfect harmony. H. l. 144—l. 145. Hume, l. 144—H.

pletely of Orissa The attention of the Subahdar was engaged in another quarter Discontent again prevailed among his Afghan and Tartar officers, which it required some address to allay His youngest nephew, who was the most distinguished for ability of all his relations, and whom he had appointed Nabob or Deputy Governor of Bahar, had taken into his pay two Afghan officers, who had retired in discontent from the service of Aliverdi These leaders murdered their young master, the nephew of the Subahdar, and with a body of Mahrattas, who had entered the province on purpose to join them, and a considerable army of their own countrymen, whom the host of Ahmed Shah Abdallee, then covering the upper provinces of Hindustan, enabled them to collect, erected against Aliverdi the standard of revolt Never was that governor, or rather king, for it was but a nominal obedience which he now paid to the throne of Delhi, in greater danger He was obliged to meet the enemy, with a very inferior force, yet he gained a complete victory, and the Afghan lords were killed in the battle The Mahrattas, however, only retired on the road towards Orissa, without crossing the mountains, and halted at Midnapore He followed, pursued them into Orissa, with great slaughter, and even recovered the capital Cuttack, but was obliged to leave the province in so defenceless a condition, that the Mahrattas were not long deprived of their former acquisitions.

During the fifteen years of Aliverdi's government or reign, scarcely a year passed free from ruinous invasions of the Mahrattas, though during the infirmities of his latter years he had, by a tributary payment, endeavoured to procure some repose He died at the age of eighty on the 9th of April, 1756¹ Aliverdi never had a son He had three daughters, and his brother had three sons² He married his three daughters to his three nephews, all of whom were men of considerable merit The youngest was slain by the Afghan lords, as already related, and the two elder both died a little before the decease of Aliverdi.

¹ For a minute and very interesting account of the government of Aliverdi, see Seer Mutakhareen, i 355—681 The narrative of Orme (ii 28—52), and that of Holwell (Interesting Historical Events, i. 85—176), do not exactly agree either with Gholam Hosein or with one another Scrafton's account (Reflection, &c) Holwell says was stolen from him

² Orme, ii 34, says that Aliverdi had only one daughter The author of the Seer Mutakhareen, who was his near relation, says he had three, i. 304

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1733.

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¹ See Mirakhereen, l. 407—438; Orme, fl. 25. Both Orme and the author of the *Seer Mirakhereen* mention the instigation of Vizam al Mulk, but after all it seems to have been only vague conjecture; and there were motives enough to Ragojee Bonala without prompting. Holwell (*Interesting Historical Events*, l. 103) says they were instigated by the Court of Delhi.

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The native authority is best entitled to confidence; especially as the Fathwa and Ragojee Bonala had been at variance, and are best imperfectly reconciled. Duff, *Mahrattas*, fl. 10.—W

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BOOK IV The eldest son of his youngest nephew had from his birth
 CHAP. III. been taken under the immediate care of Aliverdi himself
 1756. and was the object of extreme and even doting fondness.
 The youth, on whom had been bestowed the title of
 Suraj-ad-dowla, was, upon the death of his uncle, regarded
 as the destined successor of Aliverdi¹ and took the reins
 of government without opposition upon his decease.

Suraj-ad-dowla was educated a prince, and with more
 than even the usual share of princely consideration and
 indulgence. He had, accordingly more than the usual
 share of princely vices. He was ignorant he was volup-
 tuous; on his own pains and pleasures he set a value
 immense, on the pains and pleasures of other men, no
 value at all he was impatient, irascible, headstrong.

The first act of Suraj-ad-dowla's government was to
 plunder his aunt, the widow of his senior uncle, eldest
 daughter of Aliverdi, reputed immensely rich. To this
 uncle had belonged the government of the province of
 Dacca and orders were despatched to that place, to seize
 the receivers and treasurers of the family. His second
 uncle, who was Nabob of Poorania or Purneah, a province
 on the northern side of the Ganges, died during the last
 illness of Aliverdi, and left the government in the hands
 of his son, whose conduct was imprudent, and his mind
 vicious. Jealousy or, the desire of showing power by
 mischief, excited the young Subahdar to resolve upon the
 destruction, of his cousin, the Nabob of Purneah. He had
 advanced as far as Baj Mahl, when he received intelligence
 that one of the principal officers of finance in the service
 of his late uncle at Dacca, had given the slip to his guards
 and found an asylum at Calcutta.

Suraj-ad-dowla had manifested aversion to the English,
 even during the life of his grandfather the appearance of
 protection, therefore, shown to a man who had disap-
 pointed his avarice, and was probably imagined to have
 escaped with a large treasure, kindled his rage the army
 was that moment commanded to halt, and to march back
 towards the capital. A messenger was despatched to Cal-

Orme, II. 47 says that Aliverdi had declared Suraj-ad-dowla his successor
 before the death of his uncle. But the author of the *Asar* Mirakharum, who
 was in the confidential service of Seldi Husein, the surviving nephew tells us
 that he regarded himself as the successor of Aliverdi till the time of his death;
 which was during the last illness of Aliverdi.

cutta to remonstrate with the governor, but as the messenger entered the town in a sort of disguise, the governor thought proper to treat him as an impostor, and dismissed him from the Company's territory. With a view to the war between France and England, the Presidency had begun to improve their fortifications. This, too, was matter of displeasure to the Subahdar, and the explanation offered by the English, which intimated that those strangers were audacious enough to bring their hostilities into his dominions, still more inflamed his resentment. The factory at Cossimbuzar, near Moorsshedabad, was seized, and its chief, Mr. Watts, retained a prisoner. The Presidency were now very eager to appease the Subahdar, they offered to submit to any conditions which he pleased to impose, and, trusting to the success of their humility and prayers, neglected too long the means of defence. The Subahdar had a wish for a triumph, which he thought might be easily obtained, and he was greedy of riches, with which, in the imagination of the natives, Calcutta was filled.

The outposts of Calcutta were attacked on the 18th of June, 1756. There was but little of military skill in the place, and it was badly defended. After a short experiment of resistance, a general consultation decided upon the policy of retreat. It was agreed that the women and effects should be put on board the ships in the course of the next day, and that the persons employed in the work of defence should escape in the same manner the following night. There was hardly a chance of mishap, for the natives always close their operations with the close of the day, but by some strange inadvertence no orders were published respecting the mode in which the plan was to be carried into effect. It was generally known that retreat was intended when the embarkation next morning began, every person imagined he was to shift for himself, and hurried on board by the readiest conveyance. During the confusion, an apprehension arose in the ships respecting the security of their situation, and they began to move down the river. The danger of being left without the means of retreat now flashed on the minds of the spectators on shore; and the boats were filled and gone in an instant. "Among those who left the factory in this un-

1756.

accountable manner were, the Governor Mr Drake, Mr Maack, Captain Commandant Minchin, and Captain Grant. ¹ Great was the indignation among the people of the fort, upon hearing that they were in this manner abandoned. Mr Holwell, though not the senior servant, was by the general voice called to assume the command and exerted himself with great vigour to preserve order and maintain the defence. Signals were now thrown out," says Mr Cooke, from every part of the fort, for the ships to come up again to their stations, in hopes they would have reflected (after the first impulse of their panic was over) how cruel as well as shameful it was, to leave their countrymen to the mercy of a barbarous enemy and for that reason we made no doubt they would have attempted to cover the retreat of those left behind, now they had secured their own but we deceived ourselves and there never was a single effort made, in the two days the fort held out after this desertion, to send a boat or vessel to bring off any part of the garrison." "Never perhaps," says Mr Orme, was such an opportunity of performing an heroic action so ignominiously neglected for a single sloop, with fifteen brave men on board, might, in spite of all the efforts of the enemy have come up, and anchoring under the fort, have carried away all who suffered in the dungeon. During these trying days Mr Holwell made several efforts, by throwing letters over the wall, to signify his wish to capitulate and it was during a temporary pause in the fire of the garrison, while expecting an answer that the enemy approached the walls in numbers too great to be resisted, and the place was carried by storm. The Subahdar though humanity was

¹ Evidence of John Cooke, Esq. (who at that time was Secretary to the Governor and Council of Calcutta), in the First Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to inquire into the Nature, State, and Condition of the East India Company in 1773.—M.

Mr Holwell adds to these Messrs. Marningham and Franchin, members of the Council, who set the example of this disgraceful desertion. They to the Doddy dropped down the river on the night of the 18th of June. The *President*, with the rest of the ships, followed on the morning of the 19th. The Fort was taken on the 20th. There can be no doubt that the whole of the garrison might have been carried off by the shipping had there been either respect or courage amongst the principal servants of the Company. Holwell's Address to the Secret Committee. *India Tracts*.—W.

Report, &c. &c. Mr Cooke, from notes written immediately after the transactions, gives very interesting narrative, from the death of Alverdi, till the morning after the night of the *Black Hole*.

Orme, v. 78.

no part of his character, appears not on the present occasion to have intended cruelty, for when Mr Holwell was carried into his presence with his hands tied, he ordered them to be set loose, and assured him, upon the faith of a soldier, that of the heads of him and his companions, not a hair should be touched. When evening, however, came, it was a question with the guards to whom they were intrusted, how they might be secured for the night. Some search was made for a convenient apartment, but none was found, upon which information was obtained of a place which the English themselves had employed as a prison. Into this, without further inquiry, they were impelled. It was unhappily a small, ill-aired, and unwholesome dungeon, called the Black Hole, and the English had their own practice to thank for suggesting it to the officers of the Subahdar as a fit place of confinement.¹ Out of 146 unfortunate individuals thrust in, only twenty-three were taken out alive in the morning. The horror of the situation may be conceived, but it cannot be described. "Some of our company," says Mr Cooke, "expired very soon after being put in, others grew mad, and having lost their senses, died in a high delirium." Applications were made to the guard, with the offer of great rewards, but it was out of their power to afford relief. The only chance consisted in conveying intelligence, by means of a bribe,

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¹ The atrocities of English imprisonment at home, not then exposed to detestation by the labours of Howard, too naturally reconciled Englishmen abroad to the use of dungeons of *Black Holes*. What had they to do with a *black hole*? Had no *black hole* existed (as none ought to exist anywhere, least of all in the sultry and unwholesome climate of Bengal), those who perished in the Black Hole of Calcutta would have experienced a different fate. Even so late as 1782, the common gaol of Calcutta is described by the Select Committee, "a miserable and pestilential place." That Committee examined two witnesses on the state of the common gaol of Calcutta. One said, "The gaol is an old ruin of a house, there were very few windows to admit air, and those very small. He asked the gaoler how many souls were then confined in the prison? Who answered, upwards of 170, blacks and whites included—that there was no goal allowance, that many persons had died for want of the necessaries of life. The nauseous smells, arising from such a crowded place, were beyond expression. Besides the prisoners, the number of women and attendants, to carry in provisions and dress victuals, was so great, that it was astonishing that any person could long survive such a situation. It was the most horrible place he ever saw, take it altogether." The other witness said, "It is divided into small apartments, and those very bad, the stench dreadful, and more offensive than he ever experienced in this country—that there is no thorough draft of air—the windows are neither large nor numerous—the rooms low—that it would be impossible for any European to exist any length of time in the prison—that debtors and criminals were not separated—nor Hindoos, Mohammedans, and Europeans." First Report, Appendix, No. xi

BOOK IV English and French; and the Presidency of Bombay
 CHAP. III. refused to engage in a measure by which it would be
 1756. violated. There was another enterprise, however in which
 they had already embarked, and in which, with the great
 force, military and naval, now happily assembled at Bom-
 bay they had sanguine hopes of success.

The Mahrattas, as early as the time of Sivajee, had raised something of a fleet, to protect them against the enterprise of the Siddees. In this service a common man distinguished himself and rose from one post to another till he became Admiral of the fleet. He was appointed Governor of a strong fort, called Severndroog, situated on a rocky island, within cannon-shot of the continent, about eight miles north from Dabul. This adventurer quarrelled with the Mahratta government; and revolted with the greater part of the fleet. He not only set the Mahratta state at defiance, but was able to render himself master of the coast to an extent of sixty leagues, from Tanna to Rajapore and the Mahrattas compounded their dispute with him, by receiving a small annual tribute as a mark of subjection. The name of the successful rebel was Comajee Angria and he made piracy his trade. The nature of the coast is well adapted to that species of depredation because it is intersected by a great number of rivers, and the breezes compel ships to keep close to the land. The European nations had been harassed by this predatory community for nearly half a century they had made several efforts to subdue them, but the power of Angria had always increased and his fleets now struck terror into all commercial navigators on the western coast of India.

Several approaches towards the formation of a union for the extirpation of these corsairs had been made by the English and Mahrattas; but without effect, till 1755, when an English squadron under Commodore James, and a land-army of Mahrattas, attacked Severndroog, and took it, as well as the fort of Bancoota. It was toward the conclu-

These circumstances are not quite correctly stated. It was the father of Kanhajee who first acquired distinction in the service of Sivajee, he was made admiral of the fleet by Raja Ram, and took part with his widow against Shero, the grandson of Sivajee, but was induced to acknowledge the letter by the grant of ten forts, including Severndroog and Vikardroog or Osherish. Duff Mahrattas, I. 424.—W

sion of the same year that Admiral Watson with his fleet, BOOK IV
and Colonel Clive with his forces, arrived at Bombay the CHAP III
final reduction of the piratical state was therefore decreed
On the 11th of February, 1756, the fleet, consisting of eight
ships, besides a grab, and five bomb-ketches, having on
board 800 Europeans and 1000 Sepoys commanded by Co-
lonel Clive, arrived at Gheriah while a Mahratta army
approached on the other side Gheriah, the capital of
Angria, stood on a rocky promontory, nearly surrounded
by the sea, and had a fort of extraordinary strength But
the number of the assailants, and the violence of the can-
nonade, terrified both Angria and his people, and they
made a feeble use of their advantages¹ Angria, with a
view to effect an accommodation, placed himself in the
hands of the Mahrattas, the fort surrendered, and the
object of the expedition was completely attained.² Watson
arrived at Madras on the 16th of May, and Clive repaired
to his government at Fort St David, from which, in the
month of August, he was summoned to assist in the deli-
berations for recovering Calcutta.³

1756

It was resolved, after some debate, that the reestablish-
ment of the Company's affairs in Bengal should be pursued
at the expense of every other enterprise A dispute, how-
ever, of two months ensued, to determine in what manner
prizes should be divided, who should command, and what
should be the degree of power intrusted with the com-
mander The parties, of whom the pretensions were sever-
ally to be weighed, were Mr Pigot, who had been Governor
of Madras since the departure of Saunders, but was void of
military experience, Colonel Aldercron, who claimed as
senior officer of the King, but was unacquainted with the
irregular warfare of the natives, Colonel Lawrence, whose
experience and merit were unquestionable, but to whose
asthmatical complaints the close and sultry climate of
Bengal was injurious, and Clive, to whom none of these
exceptions applied It was at last determined, that Clive

¹ This was Toolajee Angria, son of Kanhajee —W

² The author was not aware of the circumstances under which Gheriah was
taken and retained by the English, in contravention of the terms under which
they were engaged to co-operate with the Mahrattas, whom they contrived to
anticipate in a mutually projected scheme of deception See Duff's Mahratta
History, ii 88 —W

³ See for this account, Orme, i 406—417, Cambridge's War in India, p
120—130, Lord Clive's Evidence, Report, ut supra

BOOK IV should be sent. It was also determined, that he should be
 sent with powers independent of the Presidency of Calcutta. Among his instructions, one of the most peremptory was, that he should return, and be again at Madras with the whole of the troops, in the month of April about which time it was expected that in consequence of the war between France and England, a French fleet would arrive upon the coast. It was principally indeed, with a view to this return, that independence of the Calcutta rulers, who might be tempted to retain him, was bestowed upon Clive.

CHAPTER III.

1756.

The force which sailed from the road of Madras, on the 16th of October consisted of five King's ships with Admiral Watson as Commander and five Company's ships, serving as transports; having on boards 900 European troops, and 1500 Sepoys. All the ships, with the exception of two, arrived in the Ganges on the 20th of December and found the fugitives from Calcutta at Fulta, a town at some distance down the river to which the ships had descended, and where they had found it practicable to remain.

After forwarding letters, full of threats, to Suraj-ad-dowla, which the Governor of Calcutta sent word that he dared not deliver it was resolved to commence operations, by the capture of a fort, which stood, on the river between Fulta and Calcutta. On the 27th of December at the time when the fort was to be attacked by the ships, Clive marched out, with the greater part of the troops, to lay an ambush for intercepting the garrison, who were not expected to make a tedious defence. The troops, fatigued in gaining their position, were allowed to quit their arms to take a little repose and from a security says Mr Orme, which no superiority or appearances in war could justify the common precaution of stationing sentinels was neglected." In a few minutes they were all asleep and in this situation, surprised by a large body of the enemy. The presence of mind and steady courage, which never deserted Clive in sudden emergencies, enabled him, even in those unfavourable circumstances, to disperse a band of irregular troops, led by a cowardly commander. But had the enemy's cavalry" says Orme, "advanced and charged at the same time that the infantry

began to fire, it is not improbable that the war would have been concluded on the very first trial of hostilities" ¹

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CHAP III

1757

The ships came up and cannonaded the fort, but the garrison frustrated the project of Clive, and, totally unperceived, made their escape in the night. The other forts on the river were deserted, as the English approached, and on the 2d of January, 1757, the armament arrived at Calcutta. The garrison withstood not the cannon of the ships for two hours, and evacuated the place. The merchandise belonging to the Company was found mostly untouched, because it had been reserved for the Subahdar, but the houses of individuals were totally plundered.

Intelligence was received from the natives, who began to enter the town, that Hoogly, a considerable city, about twenty-three miles up the river from Calcutta, was thrown into great consternation by these recent events. In this situation an attack upon it was expected to produce a very favourable result. One of the ships sent on this service struck on a sandbank, and five days retarded the progress of the detachment. On the 10th of January they reached the spot, made a breach in the wall before night, and the troops no sooner mounted the rampart, than the garrison fled and escaped.

During the expedition to Hoogly news arrived of the commencement of hostilities between England and France.² The French in Bengal had a force of 300 Europeans, and a train of field artillery, which, if added to the army of the Subahdar, would render him an irresistible enemy. The English were now very desirous to make their peace with that formidable ruler, but the capture of Hoogly, undertaken solely with a view to plunder,³ had so augmented his

¹ Scrafton, p. 62, sinks the culpable circumstances — Mr. Sir J. Malcolm himself a soldier, shows that no such catastrophe was possible, "the thick jungle which concealed the approach of the infantry, was impervious to cavalry, who had no means of advancing, except through openings where they must have been seen, and the possibility of surprise defeated." *Life of Clive*, i. 162 — W.

² The Indian historian gives an amusing account of the relations between England and France. "Just at this crisis," says he, "the flames of war broke out between the French and English, two nations who had disputes between themselves of five or six hundred years' standing, and who, after proceeding to bloodshed, wars, battles, and massacres, for a number of years, would lay down their arms by common agreement, and take breath on both sides, in order to come to blows again, and to fight with as much fury as ever." *Ser Mutakhareen*, i. 759.

³ As observed by the biographer of Clive, there are no facts to warrant the imputation that plunder was the sole object of the attack upon Hoogly. The

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rage, that he was not in a frame of mind to receive from them any proposition and his army received its orders to march. Happily for the English the same spirit by which Duplex was reproached for not having negotiated a neutrality between the French and English Companies in India, though the nations were at war in Europe, prevailed in the Councils at Chandernagor. The rulers at that settlement refused to assist Suraj-ad-dowla; and proposed that they and the English should engage by treaty notwithstanding the war between their respective countries, to abstain from hostilities against one another in Bengal. Still the power of the Subahdar presented an appalling aspect to Clive and no sooner had he received intimation of an abatement in the irritation of that enemy than he renewed his application for peace. The Subahdar received his letter and even proposed a conference but continued his march, and on the 3d of February surrounded Calcutta with his camp. Clive resolved to surprise it before dawn of the following morning. The design was no less politic than bold; both as the audacity of it was likely to alarm a timorous enemy and as the difficulty of procuring provisions, surrounded by a large body of cavalry must soon have been great. The execution, however was badly planned and a thick mist augmented the causes of misfortune. The troops suffered considerably; and were several times exposed to the greatest dangers. Yet they marched through the camp; and produced on the minds of the Subahdar and his army the intended effect. Eager

opportunity of striking successful blow against an enemy's town, was so obvious a reprisal for his capture of Calcutta, that it is very unnecessary to seek for any other motives than the most ordinary rules of warfare.—W

There is some contradiction in the statements of different authorities on this subject, which can be reconciled only by consideration of dates and circumstances. It appears probable, that the French were not informed of the war in Europe, until after the march of the Nawab to Calcutta, and the negotiations for peace with the English. They could not, therefore have joined him sooner and to prevent that junction taking place, was one of Clive's reasons for agreeing to the treaty more readily than was thought advisable by Admiral Watson. He writes to the Chairman, I know there are many who think I have been too precipitate in the conclusion of the treaty but they never knew that the delay of day or two might have raised the Company's affairs, by the junction of the French with the Nawab, which was on the point of being carried into execution. Life, i 178. With the conclusion of the treaty the French lost their opportunity of co-operating with the Nawab. Their repugnance for a neutrality were consequent to the Nawab's retreat; and if Clive's account of the matter be correct, the English had not much reason to be grateful for their forbearance.—W

to be removed from an enemy capable of those daring attempts, Suraj-ad-dowla was now in earnest to effect an accommodation. Overtures were received and returned, and on the 9th of February a treaty was concluded, by which the Nabob, as he was styled by the English, agreed to restore to the Company their factories, and all the privileges they had formerly enjoyed, to permit them to fortify Calcutta, and to make compensation to them for such of the plundered effects as had been brought to account in the books of his government. So greatly was he pleased with this treaty, that two days after its conclusion, he proposed to conclude with the English an alliance offensive and defensive, a contract which the English eagerly formed, and which both parties ratified on that very day

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In return to the French for that neutrality of theirs which had saved the English,¹ Clive, at the very moment of making peace with the Nabob, sounded him to know if he would permit the English to attack the settlement at Chandernagor, for which there still would be time before the setting in of the southern monsoon. The proposition was hateful to the Subahdar, but for the present he returned an evasive answer. As this was not a prohibition, Clive resolved to construe it as a permission, and he sent his army across the river. The Subahdar now interfered with efficacy, sent an express prohibition, and took measures for opposing the attempt.

The Council at Calcutta, no longer expecting the consent of the Subahdar, and alarmed at the thought of attempting the enterprise in defiance of his authority, entered into negotiation with the French. They had mutually agreed upon terms, and obtained the assent of the Subahdar to guarantee between them a treaty of neutrality and pacification. But the factory at Chandernagor was dependent on the government of Pondicherry, and could only ratify the treaty provisionally, the government of Calcutta signed with definitive powers. This difference started a scruple in the brain of Admiral Watson, and he refused to sign. In the opinion of Clive, there was but one alternative—that of embracing the neutrality, or instantly attacking Chandernagor. But Watson

¹ See preceding note

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refused to attack without the Nabob's consent and Clive urged the necessity of accepting the neutrality. In a letter to the Select Committee he said, "If the neutrality be refused, do but reflect, Gentlemen, what will be the opinion of the world of these our late proceedings. Did we not, in consequence of a letter received from the Governor and Council of Chandernagor making offers of a neutrality within the Ganges, in a manner accords to it, by desiring they would send deputies, and that we would gladly come into such neutrality with them? And have we not, since their arrival, drawn out articles that were satisfactory to both parties and agreed that such articles should be reciprocally signed, sealed, and sworn to? What will the Nabob think, after the promise made him on our side, and after his consenting to guarantee this neutrality? He, and all the world, will certainly think, that we are men without principles, or that we are men of a trifling insignificant disposition. While the alterations on this subject continued, news reached the Subahdar that Ahmed Shah, the Abdallee, had taken Delhi and meant to extend his conquests to the eastern provinces of the Mogul empire. This intelligence, which filled him with consternation, suggested the vast importance of securing the co-operation of the English and he immediately sent a letter to Colonel Clive, the object of which was to pave the way for attaining it, on almost any terms. The very same day on which the letter of the Nabob reached Calcutta, the arrival was announced of three ships with troops from Bombay and of one of the ships, also bearing troops, which sailed with Clive from Madras, but was compelled to return. With such additions, says Mr Orme "the English force was deemed capable of taking Chandernagor although protected by the Nabob's army. Colonel Clive therefore immediately dismissed the French deputies, who were then with him waiting to sign the treaty, which was

¹ Admiral Watson asserts, in a letter to the Nawab, that the proposal for neutrality originated with the English. Life of Clive, l. 187. This account of the failure of the negotiation, agrees in the main with that in the text; but there can be little doubt, that neither of the parties had the power of exempting themselves from the consequences of international warfare. It was the duty of the English to attempt the reduction of Chandernagore, as it would have been that of the French to capture Calcutta, had they been in sufficient strength.—W

Report, at supra, Appendix, No. vi.

even written out fair, and which they supposed had been BOOK IV
entirely concluded " 1

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The English force advanced, while the scruples of Admiral Watson, under the great accession of force, were vanquished by some supposed contradictions in the letters of the Subahdar, and the opposition of the Subahdar was suspended by his apprehension of the Afghans. On the 14th of March, the detachment from Bombay having joined the English army, hostilities commenced. The French defended themselves with great gallantry; the Nabob, roused at last,² and eager to prevent their fall, sent peremptory orders to the English to desist, and even put a part of his army in motion. But the fire from the ships was irresistible, and the reduction of the fort anticipated the effects of his intended resistance. The resentment of the Nabob was checked by his remaining dread of the Abdallees, and he still courted the friendship of the invaders. He, however, eluded their request to give up all the other French factories and subjects in his dominions, and afforded protection to the troops who had escaped from the fort of Chandernagor.

The time was now arrived when, according to his instructions, Clive ought no longer to have deferred his return to Madras. He himself, in his letter to the Select Committee, dated the 4th of March, had said respecting Watson's objection to the treaty of neutrality, "this leads me to consider seriously the situation of the Company's affairs on the coast, and the positive orders I have received from the President and the Committee at Madras, to return at all events with as great a part of the forces under my command as could possibly be spared " 2 "The situation of

¹ Orme, ii 139. Clive himself gives a curious account of the deliberation upon this measure. "That the members of the Committee were—Mr Drake (the Governor), himself (Col Clive), Major Kilpatrick, and Mr Becher.—Mr Becher gave his opinion for a neutrality, Major Kilpatrick, for a neutrality, he himself gave his opinion for the attack of the place, Mr Drake gave an opinion that nobody could make anything of. Major Kilpatrick then asked him, whether he thought the forces and squadron could attack Chandernagor and the Nabob's army at the same time?—he said, he thought they could, upon which Major Kilpatrick desired to withdraw his opinion, and to be of his. They voted Mr Drake's no opinion at all, and Major Kilpatrick and he being the majority, a letter was written to Admiral Watson, desiring him to co-operate in the attack on Chandernagor." Report, ut supra. There is something ludicrous in voting a man's opinion, to be no opinion, yet the undecided, hesitating, ambiguous propositions, of men who know not what resolution to take, cannot, in general, perhaps, be treated by a better rule.

² Report, ut supra, Appendix, No vi

BOOK IV the Company's affairs on the coast," that is in the Car
 CHAP III. natic, was indeed in no small degree alarming, if they
 1757 remained without the protection of their military force,
 sent for the restoration of the settlements in Bengal. The
Presidency of Madras had not left themselves troops suffi-
 cient to make head against the French even then in the
 country; and it was known at Madras, before the de-
 parture of Clive, that, in consequence of the expected
 hostilities, a powerful armament was destined by the
 French government for India and without doubt would
 make its first landing in the Carnatic. On the other side
 Clive beheld an opening for exploits, both splendid and
 profitable, in Bengal overlooked all other considerations
 violated his instructions and remained.

The French, who had collected themselves at Coosimba-
 zar became the first subject of dispute. Instead of
 yielding them up, on the repeated solicitations of the
 English, the Nabob furnished M. Law who was the head
 of the factory at Coosimbazar with money arms, and
 ammunition, and sent them into Bahar Clive, to the
 great displeasure of his now ally threatening, and even
 preparing to detach a part of his army to intercept them.
 By the author of the *Seer Mutakhareen*, we are told that
 M. Law before his departure, revealed to Suraj-ad-dowla
 the disaffection of his principal officers; the connexion
 which they would be sure to form with the English for his
 destruction and the necessity of retaining the French
 about his person if he wished to preserve himself from
 that deplorable fate. The persons, however who medi-
 tated his ruin, and who saw the importance of removing
 the French, pressed upon his mind the impolicy of quar-
 relling with the victorious English on account of the van-
 quished and fugitive French. He therefore dismissed M.
 Law telling him, that if there should happen any thing

1 It is quite clear that Clive judged soundly what was his duty when he
 determined to remain. To have withdrawn any part of the force from Bengal,
 would have been not only to forfeit the advantages that had been gained, but
 would have ensured the expulsion of the English from the province. The
 feelings of Suraj-ad-dowla were unchanged, his power was unbroken, and he
 had now the certain assistance of the French. It is quite impossible that the
 English could have made head against them, or could have hoped for any
 conditions whatever Clive would have been traitor, not only to his own
 fame, but the interests of his country had he obeyed the calls from Madras,
 where the danger was less imminent, and the consequences of discomfiture less
 irreparable.—W

new, he would send for him again"—"Send for me again?" BOOK IV.
 answered Law, "Be assured, my lord Nawab, that this is the last time we shall see each other, remember my words,—we shall never meet again, it is nearly impos- CHAP III
 sible"¹ 1757

Lord Clive, in his statement to the House of Commons, said, "that after Chandernagor was resolved to be attacked, he repeatedly said to the committee, as well as to others, that they could not stop there, but must go further, that, having established themselves by force, and not by consent of the Nabob, he would endeavour to drive them out again, that they had numberless proofs of his intentions, many upon record, and that he did suggest to Admiral Watson and Sir George Pococke, as well as to the Committee, the necessity of a revolution, that Mr Watson and the gentlemen of the Committee, agreed upon the necessity of it,² and that the management of that revolution was, with consent of the committee, left to Mr Watts, who was resident at the Nabob's capital, and himself, that great dissatisfaction arising among Suraj-ad-dowla's troops, Meer Jaffier was pitched upon to be the person to place in the room of Suraj-ad-dowla, in consequence of which a treaty was formed"³

A complicated scene took place, which it would be little instructive to unfold,⁴ of plotting and intrigue The first proposals were made by an officer named Yar Khan Latty, and they were greedily embraced, till intimation was received that Meer Jaffier Khan was inclined to enter into a confederacy for deposing the Subahdar This was a personage of much greater power and distinction. He had

¹ Seer Mutakhareen, i. 762

² Captain Brereton, who was Lieutenant with Admiral Watson, declared in evidence, "that he had heard Admiral Watson say, he thought it an extraordinary measure to depose a man they had so lately made a solemn treaty with." Report, ut supra.—M

Better evidence, Admiral Watson's own, proves, that he entirely approved of the proceedings He writes to Clive "I am glad to hear that Meer Jaffier's party increases, I hope every thing will turn out, in the expedition, to your wishes, and that I may soon have to congratulate you on the success of it." Life of Clive, i. 242.—W.

³ Report, ut supra.—M From the manner in which this is stated, it would seem as if the project of a revolution originated with the English, although, from what follows, it is clear that it was suggested to them by proposals from the principal persons at Murshedabad, both Mohammedan and Hindu amongst the latter, and a most influential individual, was the opulent banker Juggut Set Life of Clive, i. 227.—W

⁴ It has been done with exemplary minuteness and patience by Mr Orme, ii. 149—175

BOOK IV been married at an early period to the sister of Aliverdi,
 CHAP. III. and held a high rank in his army. Between him and Aliverdi had not been always the best understanding and Meer Jaffier had at one time entered into a project of treason. But the interest of the two parties taught them to master their dissatisfaction and at the death of Aliverdi, Meer Jaffier was paymaster general of the forces, one of the highest offices in an Indian government. Suraj-ad-dowla hated Meer Jaffier and was too ignorant and headstrong to use management with his dislikes. Shortly after his accession, Meer Jaffier was removed from his office, and remained exposed to all that might result from the violent disposition of the Subahdar. According to the constitution, however of an Indian army in which every General maintains his own troops, a considerable portion of the army belonged to Meer Jaffier and this he exerted himself to increase, by enlisting as many as possible of the adventurers, with whom the nature of Indian warfare made the country abound.

In manufacturing the terms of the confederacy the grand concern of the English appeared to be money. "The Committee really believed," says Mr Orme, the wealth of Suraj-ad-dowla much greater than it possibly could be, even if the whole life of the late Nabob Aliverdi had not been spent in defending his own dominions against the invasion of ruinous enemies and even if Suraj-ad-dowla himself had reigned many instead of only one year." They resolved accordingly not to be sparing in their demands; and the situation of Jaffier Khan, and the manners and customs of the country made him ready to promise whatever they desired. In name of compensation for losses by the capture of Calcutta, 10,000,000 rupees were promised to the English Company 5,000,000 rupees to English inhabitants, 2,000,000 to the Indians, and 700,000 to the Armenians. These sums were specified in the formal treaty. Over and beside this, it was resolved by the Committee of the Council, that is, the small number of individuals by whom the business was performed, that a donation of 2,500,000 rupees should be asked for the squadron; and another of equal amount for the army.

Orme, II. 183.

These promises, which were afterwards made use of by the personal enemies of Orme, to effect his annoyance and attempt his ruin, detract much from the

"When this was settled," says Lord Clive,¹ "Mr Becher (a member) suggested to the Committee, that he thought that Committee, who managed the great machine of government, was entitled to some consideration, as well as the army and navy" Such a proposition, in such an assembly, could not fail to appear eminently reasonable. It met with a suitable approbation. Mr Becher informs us, that the sums received were 280,000 rupees by Mr Drake the Governor, 280,000 by Colonel Clive, and 240,000 each, by himself, Mr Watts, and Major Kilpatrick, the inferior members of the Committee.² The terms obtained in favour of the Company were, that all the French factories and effects should be given up, that the French should be for ever excluded from Bengal, that the ter-

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splendour of his reputation, and reflect discredit upon all who were parties to their acceptance. That General, Admiral, and Members of the Select Committee, were all influenced by a grasping and mercenary spirit is undeniable, and they seized, with an avidity which denoted a lamentable absence of elevated principles, upon an unexpected opportunity of realizing princely fortunes. At the same time, many considerations may be urged in their excuse, and a more disinterested conduct would have exhibited in them, a very extraordinary exception to the prevailing practices and feelings of the times. The servants of the Company had never been forbidden to receive presents from the natives of rank, and as they were very ill paid, it was understood that they were at liberty to pay themselves in any manner they could which did not injure their employers. The making of presents was an established practice amongst the natives, and is one which they even yet consider as a necessary part of friendly or formal intercourse, and although, agreeably to their notions, it is most incumbent on the inferior to approach his superior with an offering, yet on great public occasions, and especially upon any signal triumph, the distribution of liberal donations to the army and the chief officers of the court is a natural result. There was nothing more than customary, therefore, in the gift of large sums of money by Mir Jaffier to those to whom he was indebted for his accession, and, as there was neither law nor usage opposed to the acceptance of his donations by the servants of the Company, and as they were avowedly expected and openly received, there was nothing dishonest in the transaction. That the amount of the presents was excessive, may be attributed, in some degree, to the erroneous opinion entertained probably by Mir Jaffier, and certainly by the Company's servants, of the great wealth in the treasury of Suraj-ad-dowla, which admitted of such deduction. With a just regard to circumstances and seasons, therefore, it is unjust to expect from the servants of the Company a lofty disregard of personal advantage, although they would have merited more unqualified admiration had they disdained their private enrichment in the noble aim of promoting the public good. much unhappiness would have been avoided by themselves, much misery would have been spared to Bengal!

¹ Evidence before the Committee, Report, ut supra

² Ibid. These latter receipts were the occasion of a dispute. "Upon this being known," said Clive (Report, ut supra, "Mr Watson replied, that he was entitled to a share in that money. He (Clive) agreed in opinion with the gentlemen, when this application was made, that Mr Watson was not one of the Committee, but at the same time did justice to his services, and proposed to the gentlemen to contribute as much as would make his share equal to the Governor's and his own, that about three or four consented to it, the rest would not."

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territory surrounding Calcutta to the distance of 600 yards beyond the Mahratta ditch, and all the land lying south of Calcutta as far as Culpee, should be granted them on Zemindary tenure, the Company paying the rents in the same manner as other Zemindars.

For effecting the destruction of Suraj-ad-dowla it was concerted, that the English should take the field, and that Meer Jaffier should join them at Outwa, with his own troops, and those of as many of the other commanders as it should be in his power to debauch. When the English arrived at Outwa, no allies, however appeared. Letters were received from Moonsbedabad by some of the natives in the camp, stating that the conspiracy was discovered, and that Meer Jaffier had obtained his pardon, on condition of aiding the Nabob with all his resources against the English. Instead of Meer Jaffier and his troops, a letter from Meer Jaffier arrived. In this it was stated, that the suspicions of the Nabob had been raised—that he had constrained Meer Jaffier to swear fidelity on the Koran—that it had thus become impossible for Meer Jaffier to join the English before the day of battle—but that it would be easy for him, in the action, to desert the Nabob, and decide the fortune of the day. The mind of the English commander was disturbed. The treachery of Meer Jaffier could not be regarded as improbable; and “he thought it extremely hazardous (to use his own words)

to pass a river which is only fordable in one place, march 150 miles up the country and risk a battle, when, if a defeat ensued, not one man would have returned to tell it.”

In these difficulties he called a council of war. “It is very rare, says Mr Orme, that a council of war decides for battle.” Clive himself says, “that thus was the only council of war that ever he held, and if he had abided by that council, it would have been the ruin of the East India Company.” The singularity is, that in the council Clive himself was of the same opinion with the majority and by delivering his opinion first, which was far from the usual practice, had no doubt considerable influence in determining others yet that afterwards he disregarded that

decision, and took upon himself to act in direct opposition to it. The army was ordered to cross the river the next morning, and at a little past midnight arrived at Plassy¹

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At this place, a part of the army of the Subahdar had been intrenched for a considerable time, and the Subahdar himself had reached it with the remainder of his forces the evening before the arrival of the English. The army with which he was now to contend for his power and his life consisted of 50,000 foot, 18,000 horse, and fifty pieces of cannon.² Of the English force, 900, including 100 artillery-men and fifty sailors, were Europeans, 100 were Topasses, and 2100 Sepoys. The battle was nothing but a distant cannonade. This was maintained during the greatest part of the day, and sufficed to terrify the Subahdar, who, by the advice of those who desired his ruin, issued orders of preparation for retreat. Upon this, Jaffier Khan was observed moving off with his troops. Clive was then convinced of his intention to join him. He now, therefore, ordered the English to advance, and attack that part of the line which still maintained its position. The knowledge of these two events determined the mind of the Subahdar, he mounted a fleet camel and fled with 2000 attendants. No further resistance was offered, and the English entered the camp at five o'clock, having, by the assistance of a weak and vicious sovereign, determined the fate of a great kingdom, and of 30,000,000 of people, with the loss of twenty Europeans killed and wounded, of sixteen Sepoys killed, and only thirty-six wounded.³

The army advanced, about nine miles, to Daudpore, the

¹ Scrafton (Reflections, p. 90) says, that the Colonel's resolution was founded upon a letter he received from Jaffier in the course of the day. Orme, who loves a little of the marvellous, says, "that as soon as the council of war broke up he retired alone into the adjoining grove, where he continued near an hour in deep meditation, and gave orders, on his return to his quarters, that the army should cross the river the next morning" ii. 170 —M

It is clear that the alteration in Clive's views must have been the result of his private meditations, and the circumstances particularized by Orme, are not unlikely to have been communicated to him by Clive himself —W

² Clive says 15,000 horse and 35,000 foot, and forty pieces of cannon. Letter to the Secret Committee. Life, i. 263

³ Lord Clive stated (Report, ut supra), "that the battle's being attended with so little bloodshed arose from two causes, first, the army was sheltered by so high a bank that the heavy artillery of the enemy could not possibly do them much mischief, the other was, that Suraje-ad-dowla had not confidence in his army, nor his army any confidence in him, and therefore they did not do their duty upon that occasion."

BOOK IV same evening, with little occasion to pursue the enemy
 CHAP. III. who had almost entirely dispersed. At this place, Meer
 1757 Jaffier sent a message to the English commander that he,
 with many more of the great officers, and a considerable
 part of the army waited his commands. The next morn-
 ing Clive sent to conduct him to his quarters and he
 arrived, under some apprehensions, which the Colonel,
 thinking it no time for reproaches, hastened to dispel. It
 was arranged that Meer Jaffier should march to the capital
 immediately to prevent the escape of Suraj-ad-dowla, and
 the removal of his wealth.

That wretched prince had arrived at his palace the
 night after the battle, where, now apprized that he had
 not a friend on whom he could rely and utterly uncertain
 what course to pursue, he remained till the evening of the
 following day when Meer Jaffier entered the city. Then
 his fears dictated a resolution. He disguised himself in a
 mean dress, and about ten o'clock at night went secretly
 out of a window of the palace, with his favourite concu-
 bine and a single eunuch, intending to join M. Law and
 escape into Bahar where he counted upon the protection
 of the Governor. The rowers, however, of his boat, worn
 out before the morning with fatigue, stopped at Raj Mahl,
 where he endeavoured to conceal himself in a garden. He
 was there, at break of day discovered by a man, whom he
 had formerly treated with cruelty and who now revealed
 him to the Governor. Covered with indignity he was
 hurried back to Moorahedabad, and presented to Meer
 Jaffier who placed him under the custody of his son. The
 son, a brutal, ferocious youth, the same night gave orders
 for his assassination. M. Law who received the summons
 to join the Nabob as soon as war with the English appeared
 inevitable, immediately began his march; but had not
 passed Tacnagully when he received reports of the battle
 of Plassey and halted for further information. Had he
 immediately proceeded twenty miles further" says Mr
 Orme, he would the next day have met and saved Suraj-
 ad-dowla, and an order of events, very different from
 those which we have to relate, would, in all probability
 have ensued.

The battle was fought on the 23rd of June, and on the

25th Colonel Clive with his troops arrived at Moorsheda-
bad. On the next day a meeting was held to confer about
the stipulated moneys, when the chief officer of finance
declared that the whole of Suraj-ad-dowla's treasures was
inadequate to the demand "The restitution," says Mr
Orme, "with the donations to the squadron, the army, and
the committee, amounted to 22,000,000 of sicca rupees,
equal to 2,750,000*l* But other donations were promised,
which have since been the foundation of several fortunes"¹
The scantiness of the Bengal treasury was most unex-
pected, as well as most painful news, to the English, who
had been accustomed to a fond and literal belief of Oriental
exaggeration on the subject of Indian riches With great
difficulty were they brought to admit so hateful a truth
Finding at last that more could not be obtained, they con-
sented to receive one half of the moneys immediately, and
to accept of the rest by three equal payments in three
years Even of the portion which was now to be received,
it was necessary to take one third not in specie, which was
all exhausted, but in jewels, plate, and other effects, at a
valuation. Before the 9th of August, after a multitude of
difficulties, the stipulated half, all but 584,905 rupees, was
delivered and discharged.²

¹ Ibid ii 180

² A piece of consummate treachery was practised upon an individual
Among the Hindu merchants established at Calcutta was Omichund, "a man,"
says Mr Orme, "of great sagacity and understanding" who had traded to a
vast amount, and acquired an enormous fortune "The extent of his habita-
tion," continues Mr Orme, "divided into various departments, the number of
his servants continually employed in various occupations, and a retinue of
armed men in constant pay, resembled more the state of a prince than the con-
dition of a merchant His commerce extended to all parts of Bengal and Bahar,
and by presents and services he had acquired so much influence with the prin-
cipal officers of the Bengal government, that the Presidency, in times of
difficulty, used to employ his mediation with the Nabob This pre-eminence,
however, did not fail to render him the object of much envy" (Orme, ii 50)
When the alarm, excited by the hostile designs of Suraj-ad-dowla, threw into
consternation the minds of Mr Drake and his council, among other weak ideas
which occurred to them, one was, to secure the person of Omichund, lest, per-
adventure, he should be in concert with their enemies He was seized and
thrown into confinement His guards, believing that violence, that is dis-
honour, would next fall upon his house, set fire to it, after the manner of
Hindus, and slaughtered the inmates of his harem Notwithstanding this,
when Mr Holwell endeavoured to parley with the Nabob he employed Omichund
to write letters to his friends, importuning them to intercede, in that
extremity, with the prince. At the capture, though his person was liberated,
his valuable effects and merchandise were plundered No less than 400,000
rupees in cash were found in his treasury When an order was published that
such of the English as had escaped the black hole might return to their homes,
they were supplied with provisions by Omichund "whose intercession," says
Orme, "had probably procured their return" Omichund, upon the ruin of
Calcutta, followed the Nabob's army, and soon acquired a high degree of con-

BOOK IV Upon the news of the seizure and death of Suraj-ad-
CHAP III dowlah, Mr. Law with the French party hastened back to

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Calcutta both with the Nabob's favourite, and with himself. After the recovery of Calcutta, when the Nabob, alarmed at the attack of his camp, entered into negotiation, and concluded a treaty Omichund was one of the principal agents employed. And when Mr Watts was sent to Moorshedabad as agent at the durbar (court) of Suraj-ad-dowlah, he was accompanied, says Mr Orme (i. 137), by Omichund, whose conduct in the late negotiation had placed the impregnable of former insinuations, inasmuch that Mr Watts was permitted to consult and employ him without reserve on all occasions. He was employed as main instrument in all the intrigues with Jaffer. It was never surmised that he did not succeed, with all his efforts, the projects of the English; it was never denied that his services were of the utmost importance. Mr Orme says expressly (p. 135), that "his tales and artifices prevented Suraj-ad-dowlah from believing the representations of his most trusty servants, who early suspected, and at length were convinced, that the English were confederated with Jaffer." When the terms of compensation for the losses sustained by the capture of Calcutta were negotiated between Mr Watts and Meer Jaffer 2,000,000 of rupees were set down to Omichund, which, considering the extent of his property and that "most of the best houses in Calcutta were his, (Orme, ii. 138), was probably not more than his loss. Looking forward to the rewards, which he doubted not that Jaffer, if successful, would bestow upon those of the English who were the chief instruments of his exaltation; estimating also the importance of his own services, and the risk, both of life and of fortune, which, in rendering those services, he had incurred, Omichund conceived that he too might put in his claim for reward; and, according to the example of his countrymen, resolved not to injure himself by the modesty of his demand. He asked a commission of five per cent., on the money which should be received from the Nabob's treasury, and Jaffer's part of the jewels; but agreed, upon hearing the objections of Mr Watts, to refer his claims to the committee. When the accounts were sent to Calcutta, the sum to be given to Omichund, even as compensation for his losses, seemed a very heavy grievance to men who pointed for more to themselves. I men whose minds were in such state, the great demands of Omichund appeared (the reader will laugh—but they did literally appear) *crimes*. They were voted *crimes*; and so great a *crime*, as to deserve to be punished—to be punished, not only by depriving him of all reward, but depriving him of his compensation, that compensation which was stipulated for to everybody. It was voted that Omichund should have nothing. They were in his power however therefore he was not to be irritated. It was necessary he should be deceived. Clive, whose deception, when it suited his purpose, never was a puny, proposed, that two treaties with Meer Jaffer should be drawn up, and signed, one, in which satisfaction to Omichund should be provided for which Omichund should see; another, that which should really be executed, in which he should not be named. To his honour be it spoken, Admiral Watson refused to be party to this treachery. He would not sign the false treaty and the committee forged his name. When Omichund, upon the final adjustment, was told that he was cheated, and heard that he was refused more, he fainted away and lost his reason. He was from that moment insane. Not an Englishman, not even Mr Orme, has yet expressed a word of sympathy or regret.—H.

In this statement some very material circumstances are omitted, which palliate, if they do not justify the deception that was practiced. Before the attack upon Calcutta, Omichund was in friendly correspondence with the ministers and servants of the Nabob, and upon its being taken, was treated with civility by Suraj-ad-dowlah, whom he accompanied to Moorshedabad, and there obtained from him repayment of the money which he the plunder of Calcutta had been carried off from his house. Notwithstanding this, he was one of the first, through his connexion, no doubt, with the Hindoo ministers, and Sets the bankers, to engage in the plot against Suraj-ad-dowlah. The English had, therefore, no great reason to look upon him as their friend, and as it is evident that he was a stranger to every principle except love of money there is nothing in his character to awaken any sympathy for his fate. Still it is undeniable, that there can be no treachery and that his services were

join the Governor of Bahar at Patna, the capital of the province. Upon the assassination of the father of Suraj-ad-dowla, Aliverdi had nominated Suraj-ad-dowla himself to the nabobship of that important province, but appointed Ramnaram, a Hindu, in whom he reposed great confidence, to be Deputy Governor in the absence of the Prince. Ramnaram had administered the affairs of the province during the life of Aliverdi, and had continued in the government since the accession of Suraj-ad-dowla. From him Meer Jaffier expected no co-operation, and displayed anxiety that the French party should be pursued. He suspected, however, the fidelity of any part of his own army, and a large detachment of the English were sent under Major Coote. They were detained too long in preparation, they were poorly provided with the means of expedition, and the European part of the detachment,

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entitled to consideration. It was intended to reimburse his losses and remunerate his assistance, but his want of principle instigated him to enrich himself by the secret to which he had been admitted, and when all was prepared for action, he waited on Mr Watts, the agent at Cassimbazar, and threatened to acquaint the Nawab with the conspiracy, unless a donation was secured to him of thirty lacs of rupees, about 350,000*l*. The demand was exorbitant, and infinitely beyond the amount of any losses he could have sustained by the plunder of Calcutta, for which losses, also, it is to be remembered, he had already received compensation. Mr Mill thinks it probably not more than his loss, because the best houses in Calcutta, according to Orme, were his. But admitting that they were of great value, which is not very likely, they were still his. Calcutta was not razed to the ground, the buildings were still there, and on its recapture had of course reverted to their owners. The claim was wholly inadmissible, and its unreasonableness was aggravated by the threat of treachery with which it was enforced. What was to be done? To have rejected it at once would have been followed by the certain murder of the Company's servants at Cassimbazar, and of Mr Jaffier with all his family and adherents, and by the probable defeat of the British projects and their destruction. The menaced treason of Omichund, and its fatal consequences, are scarcely adverted to in the preceding account, although it was that, and not the mere demand of extravagant compensation, which was naturally enough denounced by the committee as a crime, and determined to be worthy of punishment. Clive, who had all along advocated his cause, and defended his character, "received with equal surprise and indignation the incontrovertible proofs offered of his guilt. Viewing him as a public enemy, he considered, as he stated at the period, and publicly avowed afterwards, every artifice that could deceive him to be not only defensible, but just and proper." There may be a difference of opinion, on this subject, and it would have been more for the credit of the European character, that however treacherously extorted, the promise should have been performed, the money should have been paid, but there can be no doubt, that in order to appreciate with justice the conduct of Clive and the Committee, the circumstance of Omichund's menaced treason should not be kept out of sight. As to the reputed effects of his disappointment upon his intellects and life, there is good reason to doubt their occurrence, for in the month of August following, Clive recommends him to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, as "a person capable of rendering great services, and, therefore, not wholly to be discarded." See Life of Clive, *l*. 289 — *W*.

BOOK IV

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exasperated at the fatigue they had to endure, behaved mutiniously on the way. Before they reached Patna the French had arrived and, to obviate disputes, had been sent forward by Ramnarain into the territory of the Subahdar of Oude, with whom he had begun to negotiate an alliance. Major Oote was at first instructed to endeavour by intrigue and by force to wrest the government from Ramnarain but while he was meditating the execution of these orders, he received further instructions which led to an accommodation and he returned to Moorshedabad on the 13th of September. The detachment which he had conducted was stationed at Cosimbazar near Moorshedabad; the rest of the army was sent into quarters at Chandernagor as a more healthy situation than the seat of the Presidency and on the day after the arrival of Major Oote, Colonel Clive left Moorshedabad and returned to Calcutta.

CHAPTER IV

Renewal of the War with the French in the Carnatic.—Arrival of Lally.—French power superior to the English.—English power superior to the French.—Pondicherry taken.—And the French driven out of the Carnatic.

WHEN the English detachment for the recovery of Calcutta, and the French detachment for the relief of Bussy left the Carnatic, the contending parties were so far diminished in force as to meditate quietness and forbearance the English, till the troops which they had sent to Bengal should return the French, till the armament should arrive which they expected from Europe. In the mean time it was felt by the English as a grievous mis-

Ramnarain was avowedly subject of the Subahdar of Bengal and Behar. His conduct was equivocal, and it was necessary to compel him to submission, or deprive him of his government. As soon as he saw that Meer Jaffer was resolutely supported by the English, he satisfied Clive of his being free from all treasonable intentions, and there was no longer any room for his removal.—W

The chief authorities which have been followed for this series of transactions in Bengal, have been the Meer Mutlakcharen, i. 288—373; the first Report from the Committee on the Affairs, State, and Condition of the East India Company in 1773, which is full of curious information; Orme's War in India, ii. 36—196; and the tracts published by the various actors in the scene, Scrafton, Watts, &c

fortune, that though their Nabob Mohammed Ali was now BOOK IV.
 without a rival in the Carnatic, its pecuniary produce was CHAP IV
 remarkably small¹ The governors of forts and districts, 1757.
 the zemindars, polygars, and renters, employed, as usual,
 all their means of artifice and force to withhold their pay-
 ments, and the rabble employed by Mohammed Ali as
 soldiers, ill paid and weakly governed, were found alto-
 gether inadequate to the establishment of an efficient
 authority in the province The notion which was early
 entertained of the great pecuniary supplies capable of
 being drawn from Madura and Tinivelly, appears still to
 have maintained a determining influence in the councils
 of Madras, and notwithstanding the general resolution to
 remain inactive, Captain Calliaud, the commanding officer
 at Trichinopoly, before the end of the year 1756, received
 instructions to renew his attempts for the reduction of
 those dependencies In the hope of prevailing upon the
 King of Tanjore to afford some assistance—a hope which,
 as usual, he took care to disappoint—Captain Calliaud
 directed his march through Tanjore, and crossing Mara-
 war, arrived in Tinivelly The troops who accompanied
 him, joined to the body of Sepoys who had remained in
 the country, and the troops of the Polygars who had
 espoused the English interest, composed a formidable
 army But it was unable to proceed to action for want of
 money, and the utmost exertions of Calliaud produced
 but an insignificant supply Intelligence that the rebel-
 lious polygars were treating with the Mysoreans, who had
 a station at the fort of Dindigul, presented in strong
 colours the necessity of expedition, yet he was unable to
 leave Tinivelly before the 10th of April, when he marched
 to attack Madura with 180 Europeans, 2500 Sepoys, six
 field-pieces, and 500 horse Upon arriving at the town he
 found it a place of much greater strength than he had
 been led to suppose, and, without battering cannon, not
 easy, if possible to be reduced. He planned an effort to
 take it by surprise. The first ladders were planted, and
 Calliaud himself, with twenty men, had got into the
 fausse-bray, when the guard within received the alarm,
 and they were obliged to retreat. Two companies of

¹ It was a real evil to the government, that the revenues were withheld by refractory tributaries and contumacious dependants —W

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 1757. Sepoys were soon after despatched to bring pieces of battering artillery from Trichinopoly and Callicaud had commenced an intrigue with some of the jemadars, or captains of the enemy's troops, when he received intelligence that the French had arrived at Trichinopoly.

During these efforts to obtain possession of the revenues of Madura and Tinivelly similar efforts had been undertaken in other parts of the province. A brother of the Nabob, by name Nujeeb Oolla, who was Governor of Nelore and its district, situated in the northern quarter of the Carnatic, evaded or refused payment of the sums demanded of him and the Nabob, who possessed not the means of coercion, was urgent with the English to perform it in his stead. The rupture between the two brothers took place towards the end of February and it was the 1st of April before the English troops were ready to march. By the end of the month they had erected batteries against the fort on the 2d of May a breach was effected, which they deemed practicable and a storm was attempted the next morning. But the English were repulsed from the breach, nor was it deemed expedient to renew the attack till more battering-cannon should be received from Madras. In the mean time the detachment received orders to return to the Presidency with all expedition.

The Government of Pondicherry notwithstanding the pacific policy inculcated by the recall of Dupleix, and the commands which they had received to abstain from all operations of hazard till the arrival of the forces which they expected from Europe, determined, when they saw the English so largely at work, and their small force separated to such a distance as Tinivelly and Nelore, to avail themselves of an opportunity which good fortune seemed to present. They took the field on the 6th of April but to cover their designs, with only a small number of troops and for an object of minor importance. By forced marches they appeared before Killavanasore on the 10th, a fort possessed by a chief who had hitherto refused to acknowledge either the English or the French Nabob. In a sally in which he threw the French army into great jeopardy he received a mortal wound, of which he died in a few days, and the garrison, during the night, evacuated the

fort. The French, after this acquisition, marched in the direction leading to the territory of some polygars with whom they had disputes; and Captain Calliaud received a letter from the Madras Presidency, on the very day on which he attempted to surprise Madura, that from the late intelligence received of the motions of the French, no design on their part was apprehended against Trichinopoly¹. The season for the arrival of the English troops from Bengal was elapsed; and it was impossible now that any should return before September. The French, therefore, suddenly barring their garrisons, leaving in Pondicherry itself none but invalids, and enrolling the European inhabitants to man the walls, despatched every soldier to the field, and the army took post before Trichinopoly on the 14th of May. The garrison, deprived of the troops which had marched to Madura, were insufficient to guard the walls; and they had 500 French prisoners in the fort. Calliaud received intelligence before Madura of the imminent danger of Trichinopoly, at three o'clock in the afternoon of the 21st, at six he was on his march, on the 25th, at day-break, he halted nineteen miles from Trichinopoly. An army five times as great as his watched his approach, and guarded every avenue by which it was supposed he could enter the fort. On one side of the town was a large plain, about seven miles in extent, consisting of rice-fields covered with water, which the French deemed impassable. Calliaud continued his march, as if he intended to enter by one of the ordinary inlets, till night, when he suddenly took another direction, and arrived at the margin of the rice-fields about ten o'clock. The fatigue of marching through the rice-fields up to the knees in mud, after forced marches of several days, was excessive. At day-break, however, the main body of the detachment reached the fort, and were received with that ardent welcome by its inmates, which the greatness of the danger, and the exertions which the detachment had made to save it, naturally inspired. The French commander, astonished at the news of their entrance, and now despairing of success, marched away for Pondicherry the following day².

¹ Cambridge, p 140

² Orme, ii 197—217, Cambridge's War in India, pp 137—153, Wilks' Historical Sketches of the South of India, pp 392, 393

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Intelligence of the march of the French against Trichinopoly and of the repulse sustained by their own troops, in the two assaults upon Madura and Nalore, reached the Presidency of Madras at nearly the same time. They recalled immediately the detachment from Nalore sent as many troops as possible into the field and were uncertain whether to relieve Trichinopoly they should recall the French to the defence of their own settlements, or march to attack them before the place when the welcome news arrived of the fact and consequences of Calliaud's return. To possess and garrison the forts which were scattered over the country and which, by commanding the adjacent districts, afforded the only chance of revenue, was a principal object of desire to both contending parties. Several transactions took place about this time, relating to places of minor importance; but Wandewash was a fortress to the reduction of which peculiar value was attached. The Governor of Wandewash had paid no revenue since 1752 he had perpetually favoured the French, who from that station had been enabled to make incursions into every part of the province it not only afforded a large revenue, it was also a barrier to the surrounding districts. In hopes that it might be taken before the French army could arrive from Trichinopoly to its relief, the English commander sent to the attack was ordered to push his operations with the greatest vigour. He got possession of the town, which was contiguous to the fort, after a slight resistance. The French, however were now hastening to its relief and Colonel Alderson, whose march had not displayed any wonderful despatch, thought it prudent to renounce the enterprise before they arrived. At his departure he set fire to the defenceless town though no peculiar circumstance is alleged to justify an act so cruel to the innocent inhabitants.

The English Presidency to whom the Nabobship of Arcot continued as yet but little productive, were straitened in their treasury. Anxious therefore to diminish expenses, they gave directions, upon hearing that the army had retired from Wandewash, for its proceeding immediately to the Presidency. Unhappily the enemy were in the field, of which they were thus left entirely the masters; and they performed a successful incursion as far as Conje-

veram, where they burned the town, to revenge the out-BOOK IV
rage committed upon Wandewash. The Presidency, now CHAP. IV
aware of their blunder, ordered back the army into the
field. The two armies were nearly equal. The English
offered battle, but the French kept within their intrench-
ments. The English, after remaining in their presence
for some weeks, retired again at the end of July, and
marched to the several stations from which they had been
drawn. The French were no sooner masters of the field,
than they renewed their incursions, collected the revenues,
and levied contributions in several districts.

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A pressure was now sustained of another description. The Mahratta general Balajee Row had paid a visit of exaction to the kingdom of Mysore the preceding season, and, upon marching back to his own country, before the period of the rains, left an officer with a large detachment, who, after taking several intervening forts, made himself master of one of the passes into the Carnatic, about sixty miles north-west from the city of Arcot, and sent a peremptory demand of the chout for the whole nabobship. The city of Arcot was thrown into the utmost alarm. The Nabob dreaded the incursion of Mahratta parties into the very town, and accepted the invitation of the English to send his family to Madras. The Mahrattas pretended that the chout had been settled by Nizam al Mulk, at 600,000 rupees a year, two thirds for the Carnatic, and one for Trichinopoly and the southern dependencies. Of this they asserted that six years were due, and presented their demand, in the whole, at 4,000,000 of rupees. The Nabob, who knew the weakness of his physical, if not of his intellectual resources, was glad to negotiate. After much discussion, the Mahratta agent consented to accept of 200,000 rupees, in ready money, and the Nabob's draughts upon the governors of forts and polygars for 250,000 more. To these terms the Nabob agreed, but he required that the money should be found by the English, and should be furnished out of the revenues which he had assigned to them for the expenses of the war. At this time the English might have obtained important assistance against the Mahrattas. Morari Row, and the Patan Nabobs of Savanore, Canoul, Candanore, and Cudapa, who, since the assassination of Nazir Jung, had maintained a sort of

BOOK IV Independence, offered their alliance. But the English
 CHAP IV could spare no troops, and were as much afraid to admit
 1757 such allies into the province as the Mahrattas themselves.
 After as much delay and evasion as possible, they were induced, notwithstanding the danger of the precedent, in fear of greater evils, to comply with the demand.

During all this period, the attention of the Presidency of Madras may be considered as chiefly divided between two objects the French in the Carnatic, and the Polygars of Madura and Tinivelly. When Callaud was obliged to march from Madura for the defence of Trichinopoly he left about sixty Europeans, and upwards of 1000 Sepoys, who were not inactive and, as soon as he was convinced that no further danger was to be apprehended from the French, he despatched a reinforcement from Trichinopoly. In compliance with the recommendation of the Presidency Callaud himself, with as great a portion of the troops from Trichinopoly as it was safe to withdraw marched on the 25th of June, and arrived at Madura on the 3rd of July. Having effected a breach on the 10th, he resolved to storm. He was repulsed with great loss. For some days the operations of the besiegers were retarded by the sickness of their leader. The admission of supplies into the town was now however, cut off and the negotiations for its surrender were renewed. After some time was spent in bargaining about the price, Callaud, on the 8th of August, on payment of 170,000 rupees, was received into the town.

On the 6th of September a French fleet of twelve ships anchored in Pondicherry road but, after landing about a thousand men, it again set sail for Mauritius. This was not the grand armament which the government of Pondicherry expected and, till the arrival of which, all operations of magnitude were to be deferred. The army however, which had been scouring the country was still in its camp at Wandewash. It was now strongly reinforced by the troops newly arrived and marched against the fort of Chittapet. The Nabob, Mohammed Ali, had a personal dislike to the Governor of Chittapet, and had infused into the English suspicions of his fidelity which imprudently diminished the efforts necessary for his support. He fell, defending his fort to the last extremity; and thus another

place of considerable importance was gained by the French From Chittapet they marched to Trincomalee, which was abandoned by the Governor and garrison, upon their approach After this they divided themselves into several detachments, and before the 6th of November, when they were recalled, they had reduced eight forts in the neighbourhood of Chittapet, Trincomalee, and Gingee, and established collectors in the dependent districts

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On the news of the arrival of the French fleet, Captain Calliaud returned to Trichinopoly, with all the Europeans, and was soon after followed by the Sepoys, who, however, went back as soon as it appeared that Trichinopoly was not in danger The Mysoreans, who had been long expected to the assistance of the confederate Polygars, arrived in the month of November, took the fort of Sholavenden, and plundered to the walls of Madura, under which they remained for several days They allowed themselves, however, to be attacked in a narrow pass, by the commander of the British Sepoys, and suffered a severe defeat In the mean time Captain Calliaud, under the safeguard of a passport from Pondicherry, repaired in person to the Presidency, to represent the state of the southern dependencies, for the reduction of which so many useless efforts had been made, and declared his opinion that the settlement of the country could not be achieved, or a revenue drawn from it, without a greater force, or the removal of Maphuz Khan It was agreed with the Nabob that an annual income, adequate to his maintenance should be offered to this his elder brother, provided he would quit the province and disband his troops Maphuz Khan, however, would listen to no terms importing less than the government of the whole country, and the confederates continued in formidable force

Though after the recall of the French troops in November, no army was in the field, the garrisons left in the several forts continued to make incursions one upon another, and mutually ravaged the unhappy country As these operations, "being always levelled at defenceless villages, carried," says Mr Orme, "the reproach of robbery, more than the reputation of war," each side, too, losing by them more than it gained, the French officer at Wandewash proposed a conference, for the purpose of

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ending this wretched species of warfare and an English officer was authorized to conclude an agreement. The governments of Madras and Pondicherry were both now disposed to suspend their efforts—the French, till the arrival of the forces which they boasted were to render them irresistible in the Carnatic—the English, that they might husband their resources for the danger with which they were threatened. In this situation they continued till the 28th of April, when a French squadron of twelve sail arrived in the road of Fort St. David.

Upon the breaking out of the war between France and England in 1756, the French ministry resolved to strike an important blow in India. The Count de Lally a member of one of those Irish families, which had transported themselves into France along with James II., was appointed Commander-in-Chief of all the French forces in India. He had distinguished himself in the battle of Fontenoy where he took several English officers with his own hand, and received the rank of Colonel from the King upon the field of battle. It was he who proposed the daring plan of landing in England with 10,000 men, while the Prince, Charles Edward, was trying his fortune for a crown in another part of the island and his hatred of the English, and his reputation for courage, now pointed him out as the fittest person to crush the pretensions of that nation on the coast of Coromandel. He was accompanied by his own regiment of Irish, 1080 strong by fifty of the royal artillery and a great number of officers of distinction. They left the port of Brest on the 4th of May 1757 when a malignant fever raged in the town, of which they carried the infection along with them. No fewer than 300 persons died in the fleet before they reached Rio Janeiro, where they remained for two months, and after all, departed with a residue of the sickness on board. At Mauritius they were joined by a part of the ships which had landed the troops at Pondicherry in the preceding year and, after a tedious voyage, made the coast of Coromandel on the 20th of April, 1758.

The court of Versailles anticipated nothing but triumphs from this splendid armament and the presumption of Lally well assorted with that of his government. It was even laid down in the instructions of the ministers, that

he should commence his operations with the siege of Fort St David. For this purpose, before communicating with the land, he made the fleet anchor at the place of attack. He proceeded with two of the vessels to Pondicherry, where he arrived at five in the afternoon,¹ and before the night closed he had 1000 Europeans, and as many Sepoys, on then march to Fort St David. In military operations, notwithstanding the importance of despatch, something more than despatch is necessary. The troops marched without provisions, and with unskilful guides, who led them astray, and brought them to Fort St David at seven o'clock in the morning, worn out with hunger and fatigue.² This gave them a motive and an apology for commencing a system of plunder and insubordination, from which they could not easily be recalled.

These troops had scarcely arrived at Fort St David, when the ships in the road descried the English fleet making way from the south. Mr Pococke, with the ships of war from Bengal, had arrived at Madras on the 24th of February, on the 24th of the following month a squadron of five ships from Bombay had arrived under Admiral Stevens, and on the 17th of April, the whole sailed to the southward, looking out for the French. Having in ten days worked as high to the windward as the head of Ceylon, they stood in again for the coast, which they made, off Negapatnam, on the 28th, and proceeding along shore, discovered the French fleet, at nine the next morning, riding near Cuddalore. The French immediately weighed, and bore down towards Pondicherry, throwing out signals to recall the two ships which had sailed with Lally, and the English Admiral gave the signal for chase. The summons for the two ships not being answered, the French

¹ He himself complains that little preparation was made to co-operate with him. Among the proofs of carelessness, one was that he was saluted with five discharges of cannon, loaded with ball, of which three pierced the ship through and through, and the two others damaged the rigging. *Mémoire pour Lally*, i. 39

² Lally complains, and with good reason, of the deplorable ignorance of the French Governor and Council. They could not tell him the amount of the English forces on the coast, nor whether Cuddalore was surrounded with a dry wall or a rampart nor whether there was any river to pass between Pondicherry and Fort St David. He complains that he lost forty-eight hours at Cuddalore, because there was not a man at Pondicherry who could tell him that it was open on the side next the sea, that he was unable to find twenty-four hours' provisions at Pondicherry, and that the Governor, who promised to forward a portion to him on the road, broke his word; whence the troops were two days without food, and some of them died. *Ibid* 40, 41

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fleet stood out to sea, and formed the line of battle. The French consisted of nine sail, the English only of seven. The battle was indecisive the loss of a few men, with some damage to the ships, being only the result. Both fleets fell considerably to leeward during the engagement and the French were six days in working up to the road of Pondicherry where the troops were landed. Lally himself had some days before proceeded to Fort St. David with the whole force of Pondicherry and the troops from the fleet were sent after him, as fast as they came on shore.

The English were thrown into the greatest alarm. So much was the power of the enemy now superior to their own, that they scarcely anticipated any other result, than their expulsion from the country and had Dupleix been still the guide and conductor of the enemy's affairs, it is more than probable that their most gloomy apprehensions would have been realized. Not only had an overwhelming addition been made to a force, against which they had previously found it difficult to maintain themselves but in the meantime, Bussy in the northern parts of the Deccan, had obtained the most important advantages, and brought upon the English the heaviest disasters. After the brilliant exploit of 1756, when he defended himself at Hyderabad against the whole power of the Subahdar, and imposed his own terms upon his enemies, he had proceeded to the Northern Circars, where his presence was necessary to collect the revenues, and, by an adjustment of the government, to provide for the future regularity of their payment. He began his march on the 16th of November of that year with 500 Europeans and 4000 Sepoys leaving only a small detachment to attend to the person of the Subahdar. In accomplishing his progress through

A French ship was driven on shore, and obliged to be abandoned; but this was owing to an accident after the battle.

Lord Clive himself said, in his evidence before the Committee, in 1773: "Mr Lally arrived with force so threatened not only the destruction of all the settlements there, but of all the East India Company's possessions, and nothing saved Madras from sharing the fate of Fort St. David, at that time, but their want of money which gave time for strengthening and reinforcing the place. Report, &c. supra

Orme (N. 103) says he left 100 Europeans and 1800 Sepoys. Wilks (Hist. Sketches, p. 387) says he left 500 Europeans and 300 Sepoys. Orme again (Ibid. p. 384) speaks of the detachment as consisting of 300 Europeans and 300 Sepoys.

the country, he encountered no considerable resistance. The Polygar of Bobilee defended his fort to the last extremity, and exhibited the customary spectacle of Hindu desperation, the fortress in flames, and the people in garrison butchered by their own hands. But he was excited to this desperation by the command to exchange the government of his present for that of another district, on account of the annoyance he gave to a neighbouring chief, from whom Bussy had received a train of important services. When Bussy had nearly completed the arrangement which he intended to make, he received, about the 1st of April, letters from Suraj-ad-dowla, inviting him, by the largest offers, to assist him in expelling the English from Bengal. Bussy waited on his northern frontier, ready to march through Orissa into Bengal, as soon as he should receive satisfactory intelligence, but, learning the capture of Chandernagor, and the imbecility of the Subahdar, he changed his purpose, and proceeded to the attack of the English establishments within the Circars. There were three factories, on three different branches of the Godavary, in a district remarkable for the excellence and cheapness of its cloths. They were places of no strength, and surrendered on the first requisition. Vizagapatam, however, was one of the places of greatest importance belonging to the English in India. It was a fort, garrisoned by 150 Europeans, and 300 Sepoys, but so injudiciously constructed, that the attempt to defend it was unanimously determined to be vain. The van of Bussy's army appeared before it on the 24th of June, and a capitulation was concluded, that all the Europeans, both military and civil, should be regarded as prisoners, and all the effects of the Company as prize of war. The Sepoys, and other natives, Bussy allowed to go where they pleased, he also promised to respect the property of individuals. "And he kept his word," says Mr Orme, "with the utmost liberality, resigning, without discussion, whatsoever property any one claimed as his own."

During these transactions, however, a great revolution was preparing in the army of Salabut Jung. He had two younger brothers, whom Bussy, acquainted with the temper of Oriental governments, had advised the Subahdar to provide with establishments, and every indul-

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gence suitable to their rank, but from whom he had exhorted him carefully to withhold those governments and places of power which, in the hands of the near relations of the prince, were the cause of so many revolutions in India. This prudent course was pursued till the period of the alienation from Bussy of the mind of the Subahdar when that prince was easily persuaded, by his designing courtiers, to reverse the policy which the sagacity of Bussy had established. The eldest of the two brothers, Bessalut Jung, was appointed Governor of the strong fort and country of Adoni and Nizam Ali, the youngest and most dangerous, was made Governor of Berar, the most extensive province of the Deccan, of which the Mahrattas now possessed the principal part.

Towards the end of the year 1757 while a body of Mahrattas insulted Aurungabad, which was then the residence of the Subahdar a mutiny under the usual shape of clamour for pay was excited in his army. The utmost alarm was affected by the Dewan, or minister who took shelter in a strong fort. The Subahdar without resources, was driven to dismay. Nizam Ali, who had acquired some reputation, and intrigued successfully with the troops, offered to interpose and allay the tumult, provided the requisite powers, and among other things the great seal of the Subah, were committed to his hands. The requisition was obeyed and Nizam Ali, leaving only the name of Subahdar to his brother grasped the whole powers of the state. With an affectation of indifference he committed the seal to his brother Bessalut Jung, but under sufficient security that it would be used agreeably to his directions.

Bussy received intelligence of these events in the beginning of January immediately began his march with the whole of his army and by a road never travelled before by European troops, arrived in twenty-one days at Aurungabad, a distance by the perambulator of nearly

There are some important differences between Orme's account of these events, and that given by the biographer of Shahwar Khan, the Dewan or minister of Bessalut Jung. The discontent was real, and the Dewan only averted his life by flying to Dowlatabad. Bessalut Jung was constrained in the disturbance, but the other brother Khosro Ali, was not on the spot, nor did he join his brother for two or three months. The result of his junction was that described in the text. Khosro Ali was declared heir and successor of Bessalut Jung, and associated with him in the government, engraving the real authority. Calcutta Magazine, Dec. 1833.—W

400 miles¹ Four separate armies were encamped about the city, that of Nizam Ali from Berar, that of the Subah, of which Nizam Ali had now the command, that of Bassalut Jung from Adoni; and that of the Mahrattas commanded by Balajee Row The presence of Bussy, with his handful of Europeans, imposed respect upon them all, and every eye was fixed upon his movements His first care was to restore the authority of the Subahdar, whom the presence alone of the French detachment, which had vigilantly guarded his person, had probably saved from the assassination which generally forms the main ingredient of Indian revolutions.

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The two brothers at first assumed a high tone, and when obliged to part with the seal, exhibited unusual marks of rage and indignation Bussy clearly saw that the safety of the Subahdar, and the existence of the present government, demanded the resumption of the power which had been intrusted to Nizam Ali, but when the proposition of a large pension was made to him in lieu of his government, he had the art to interest his troops in his behalf, and Bussy found it necessary to temporize To remove still further the umbrage which he found was gaining ground at the uncontrollable authority with which a stranger disposed of the powers of the Deccan, and of the sons of the great Nizam al Mulk, he re-committed the seal of state to Bassalut Jung, but under securities which precluded any improper use

To provide a permanent security for his predominating influence in the government of the Subah, there was wanting, besides the distant provinces which yielded him the necessary revenue, a place of strength near the seat of government, to render him independent of the sudden machinations of his enemies The celebrated fortress of Dowlatabad, both from locality and strength, was admirably adapted to his views It was at present in possession of the prime minister, the mortal foe of Bussy, the chief actor in the late commotions, and the assured instrument of others in every hostile design By a sum of money, Bussy gained the Deputy Governor to admit him secretly with his troops into the fort and this invaluable instru-

¹ Mr Orme states the days on report merely, but we may presume it was the best information which that careful historian could procure

BOOK IV ment of power was gained without the loss of a man. As
 CHAP IV the utmost efforts, however of the resentment of the
 1758. minister were now assured, Bussy secured the means of
 rendering him a prisoner in the midst of the camp of the
 Subahdar, at the very hour when he himself was received
 into the fort Dowlatabad. These events alarmed Nizam Ali
 into submission; and an accommodation was effected, by
 which he agreed to divest himself of his government of
 Berar and accept of Hyderabad in its stead. When hold-
 ing his court, to receive the compliments of the principal
 persons, before his departure for his new government, he
 was waited upon, among others, by Hyder Jung, the De-
 wan of Bussy. This personage¹ was the son of a Governor
 of Masulipatam, who had been friendly to the French
 and he had attached himself to Bussy since his first
 arrival at Golconda. Bussy was soon aware of his talents,
 and discovered the great benefit he might derive from
 them. He became a grand and dexterous instrument for
 unravelling the plots and intrigues against which it was
 necessary for Bussy to be incessantly on his guard and a
 no less consummate agent in laying the trains which led
 to the accomplishment of Bussy's designs. To give him
 the greater weight with his countrymen, and more com-
 plete access to the persons and the minds of the people
 of consequence, he obtained for him titles of nobility
 dignities, and riches and enabled him to hold his Durbar
 like the greatest chiefs. He was known to have been
 actively employed in the late masterly transactions of
 Bussy and an occasion was chosen, on which a blow might
 be struck, both at his life, and that of Salabut Jung. A
 day was appointed by the Subahdar for paying his devo-
 tions at the tomb of his father distant about twenty miles
 from Aurungabad and on the second day of his absence,
 Nizam Ali held his court. Hyder Jung was received with
 marked respect but, on some pretext, detained behind
 the rest of the assembly and assassinated. The first care
 of Bussy upon this new emergency was to strengthen
 the slender escort of Salabut Jung. The next was to

¹ His original name was Abd-al-Rahman, he was taken whilst young to Pondicherry, and early employed as an interpreter to Bussy's detachment, in which capacity he gained the confidence of that officer. *Life of Salabut Jung*.—W

secure the person of the late minister,¹ of whose share in the present perfidy he had no doubt, and whom he had hitherto allowed to remain under a slight restraint in the camp. That veteran intriguer, concluding that his life was in danger, excited his attendants to resist, and was slain in the scuffle. Struck with dismay, upon the news of this unexpected result, Nizam Ali abandoned the camp in the night, taking with him his select cavalry alone, and pursued his flight towards Boorhanpore, about 150 miles north from Aurungabad, with all the speed which the horses could endure. Thus was Bussy delivered from his two most formidable enemies, by the very stroke which they had aimed against him, and in this state of uncontrollable power in the wide-extended government of the Deccan, was he placed, when the arrival of Lally produced an extraordinary change in his views, and ensured a new train of events in the Subah.

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The character of that new Governor was ill adapted to the circumstances in which he was appointed to act. Ardent and impetuous, by the original structure of his mind, his early success and distinction had rendered him vain and presumptuous.

With natural talents of considerable force, his knowledge was scanty and superficial. Having never experienced difficulties, he never anticipated any. For him it was enough to will the end, the means obtained an inferior portion of his regard. Acquainted thoroughly with the technical part of the military profession, but acquainted with nothing else, he was totally unable to apply its principles in a new situation of things. Unacquainted with the character and manners of the people among whom he was called upon to act, he was too ignorant of the theory of war to know, that on the manage-

¹ According to the Mazir al Omra, whence the biography of Shahnawaz Khan is derived, he was already in confinement through the treachery of Hyder Jung, who was plotting, it is asserted, the arrest of Nizam Ali, when he paid that prince the visit in the course of which he was murdered. Upon the death of Hyder Jung, the prince mounted his horse and fled, and in the alarm which these occurrences excited amongst the French, some of Bussy's attendants hastened to the place where the minister was confined, and killed him, along with his youngest son, and another of Salabut Jung's chief officers, Yamln-ad-dowlah. The native historian is, no doubt, misled by his prejudices, in ascribing to the French commandant any share, however indirect, in the assassination of the dewan, but had Clive been implicated in any similar transaction, it is very probable that the English historian would have given a very different account of it.—W

BOOK IV ment of his intellectual and moral instruments, the
 CHAP IV success of the general mainly depends.

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He began by what he conceived a very justifiable act of authority ; but which was in reality a cruel violation of the customs, the religion, and, in truth, the legal rights of the natives. As there was not at Pondicherry of the persons of the lower castes, who are employed in the servile occupations of the camp, a sufficient number to answer the impatience of M. Lally in forwarding the troops to Fort St. David, he ordered the native inhabitants of the town to be pressed, and employed, without distinction of caste, in carrying burdens, and performing whatever labour might be required. The terror and consternation created by such an act, was greater than if he had set fire to the town and butchered every man whom it contained. The consequence was, that the natives were afraid to trust themselves in his power and he thus ensured a deficiency of attendants.¹

The feeble bullocks of the country and the smallness of the number which the Governor and Council of Pondicherry were able to supply but ill accorded with Lally's ideas of a sufficiency of draught cattle. The very depressed state of the treasury precluded the possibility of affording other facilities, the want of which his impatience rendered a galling disappointment. He vented his uneasiness in reproaches and complaints. He had carried out in his mind one of those wide and sweeping conclusions, which men of little experience and discrimination are apt to form that his countrymen in India were universally rogues. And to this sentiment, that ignorance and avidity at home, which recalled Duplex, were well calculated to

¹ This, at least, is stated by the English historians, and by the numerous and too successful enemies of Lally. In the original correspondence, there is no proof that I can perceive. In one of Lally's letters (to De Leyrit, 18th of May) he presses him to prevail upon the inhabitants of Pondicherry by extra rewards, to lend their assistance. This looks not like general order to oppress the inhabitants. The truth is, that he himself brings charges, which were too well founded, of oppression committed by others against the natives. In his letter to De Leyrit, 26th of May 1738, he says, *J'apprends que dans votre civil et dans votre militaire, il se commet des vexations vis-à-vis des gens du pays qui les éloignent et les empêchent de vous faire les fournitures nécessaires à la subsistance de l'armée.* Lally says, in his Mémoire, p. 50, *Des employés du Sieur Des Vaux, protégés par le Sieur de Leyrit, arrêtaient des provisions qui arrivaient au camp, et exigeaient de l'argent des soldats, pour leur accorder la liberté du passage. Un de ces brigands avait déjà pris un flagrant délit. On avait même sur lui un sac plein d'espèces et de petits joyaux cachés aux payans.*

conduct him. The Directors had told him in their in-BOOK IV
structions, "As the troubles in India have been the CHAP IV
source of fortunes, rapid and vast, to a great number of
individuals, the same system always reigns at Pondicherry,
where those who have not yet made their fortune hope to
make it by the same means, and those who have already
dissipated it hope to make it a second time. The Sieur de
Lally will have an arduous task to eradicate that spirit of
cupidity, but it would be one of the most important ser-
vices which he could render to the Company"¹ Every
want, therefore, which he experienced, every delay which
occurred, he ascribed to the dishonesty and misconduct of
the persons employed,² and had so little prudence as
incessantly to declare those opinions in the most pointed
and offensive terms which his language could supply.
These proceedings rendered him in a short time odious to
every class of men in the colony, precluded all cordial co-
operation, and ensured him every species of ill-office which
it was safe to render. The animosity at last between him
and his countrymen became rancour and rage; and the
possibility of a tolerable management of the common
concerns was utterly destroyed.

On the 1st of May, Lally himself arrived at Fort St.
David, and when joined by the troops from the ships,
and those whom he had drawn from the forts in the Car-
natic, he had, according to Mr Orme, 2500 Europeans,
exclusive of officers, and about the same number of Se-
poys, assembled for the attack. The garrison consisted of
1600 natives, and 619 Europeans, of whom eighty-three
were sick or infirm, and 250 were seamen.³ The place

¹ Mém pour Lally, p 21. In their letter of the 20th March, 1759, they say, "Vous voudrez bien prendre en considération l'administration des affaires de la Compagnie, et l'origine des abus sans nombre que nous y voyons. Un despotisme absolu nous paroît la première chose à corriger." They add, "Nous trouvons par tout des preuves de la prodigalité la plus outrée, et du plus grand désordre."

² There is no doubt at all, that the neglect of all preparation, to enable him to act with promptitude, though they had been expecting him at Pondicherry for eight months, was extreme, and to the last degree culpable. There was a total want of talent at this time at Pondicherry, a weak imagination that the expected armament was to do everything, and that those who were there before had no occasion to do anything, otherwise, with the great superiority of force they had enjoyed since the arrival of the 1000 Europeans, in the beginning of September, they might have performed actions of no trifling importance, and have at least prepared some of the money and other things requisite for the operations of Lally.

³ Orme. Lally (Mém p 42) says, "Il y avoit dans le Fort de Saint David sept cent Européens, et environ deux mille Cipayes. Les troupes du Comte de

BOOK IV held out till the 1st of June, when, having nearly expended
 CHAP IV its ammunition, it yielded on capitulation. It was ex-
 158. pected to have made a better defence; and the English historians have not spared the conduct of the commanding officer. He had courage and spirit in sufficient abundance but was not very rich in mental resources, or very accurate in ascertaining the conduciveness of his means. In consequence of instructions brought from France, Lally immediately issued orders for raising the fortifications to the ground. As soon as the fort capitulated, he sent a detachment against Devi-Cotah, which the garrison immediately abandoned and on the 7th of June, he returned with the army in triumph, and sung *Te Deum* at Pondicherry.

The English, in full expectation that the next operation of Lally would be the siege of Madras, had called in the troops from all the forts in the interior except Trichinopoly; and had even debated whether they should not abandon that city itself. All the troops from Tinivally and Madura were ordered to return to Trichinopoly and, together with the garrison, to hold themselves in readiness for any emergency.

The great poverty however of the French exchequer, and the inability created or greatly enhanced by the unpopular proceedings of Lally of supplying its deficiencies by credit, cramped his operations, and sharpened the asperities of his temper. He had written from Fort St. David to the Governor of Pondicherry in the following terms "This letter shall be an eternal secret between you, Sir and me, if you afford me the means of accomplishing my enterprise. I left you 100,000 livres of my own money to aid you in providing the funds which it requires. I found not, upon my arrival, in your purse, and in that of your whole council, the resource of 100 pence. You, as well as they have refused me the support of your credit. Yet I imagine you are all of you more

Lally consistoit en seize cents Européens, et six cents noirs, tant cavalerie qu'infanterie, ramassés à la hâte. Son régiment qui avoit essuyé un combat de mer où il avoit perdu quatre-vingt-quatre hommes, et à qui on avoit donné depuis son débarquement à Pondicherry que quarante-huit heures de repos, étoit à peine en état de lui fournir deux piquets. It is at least to be remembered, that this statement of facts was made in the face of Lally's numerous and bitter enemies.

indebted to the Company than I am If you continue to leave me in want of everything, and exposed to contend with universal disaffection, not only shall I inform the King and the Company of the warm zeal which their servants here display for their interest, but I shall take effectual measures for not depending, during the short stay I wish to make in this country, on the party spirit and the personal views with which I perceive that every member appears occupied, to the total hazard of the Company" ¹

BOOK IV.
CHAP. IV.

1758.

Despairing of funds from any other source, he resolved to devote to this object the next operations of the war² He at the same time recalled Bussy, against whose character he fostered the strongest prejudices, and the importance of whose transactions under the Subahdar he treated as interested pretence and imposture

Two plans presented themselves for the supply of his wants. All the western and northern districts of the Nabobship, evacuated by the English, lay open to his incursions, and in the rents which might be collected offered a certain resource But the collection of rents was a tedious operation, and the expected produce a scanty supply The King of Tanjore, when pressed in 1751 by Chunda Saheb and the French, had, among his other efforts to procrastinate and evade, given his bond, which still remained at Pondicherry, for 5,600,000 rupees This sum, could it only be extorted from him, was a large and present resource, and in Fort St David, as a prisoner, had been found the pretender to the throne of Tanjore, who

¹ Mémoire, ut supra, Pièces Justificatives, p 30 De Leyrit defended himself by asserting the want of means "Je vous rendrai compte," says he, "de ma conduite, et de la disette de fonds dans laquelle on m'a laissé depuis deux ans, et je compte vous faire voir que j'ai fait à tous égards plus qu'on ne devoit attendre de moi Mes ressources sont aujourd'hui épuisées, et nous n'en avons plus à attendre que d'un succès Où en trouverois-je de suffisantes dans un pays ruiné par quinze ans de guerre, pour fournir aux dépenses considérables de votre armée et aux besoins d'une escadre, par laquelle nous attendions bien des espèces de secours, et qui se trouve au contraire dénuée de tout?" Ibid. No 20 Lett du Sieur De Leyrit au Comte de Lally, 24th May 1758 Lally, however, asserts that he had received two millions of livres by the arrival of the fleet Mém p 49

² This at least is the account of the English historians Lally himself says, that it was his own design to proceed directly from Fort St David to Madras, but the commander of the fleet absolutely refused to co-operate with him, would go upon a cruise to the south, for the purpose of intercepting such vessels as might arrive from England, and carried with him the detachment which Lally had put on board to prevail upon him to trust himself again at sea after the first engagement. Mém p 57

BOOK IV might now be employed as an instrument to frighten the
 CHAP IV Rajah into compliance. The expedition against Tanjore
 1758 was accordingly undertaken and on the 18th of June
Lally took the field.

From the terror of the natives, the alienation of the Europeans, and the want of money the equipment of the expedition, in attendants, draught cattle, and even provisions and ammunition, was in the highest degree defective. In seven days the army arrived at Carical, not without suffering, at this early stage, both from fatigue and from hunger. At this place Lally was met by a messenger from the King, who was desirous to treat. Lally understood, that some of his predecessors had been duped into impolitic delay by the artful negotiations of the King of Tanjore. He resolved to display superior wisdom, by a conduct directly the reverse. He proceeded to Nagore, a town accounted rich, about four miles to the north of Negapatnam but the merchants had time to remove their most valuable effects, and the acquisition yielded only a trifle. On the 28th he arrived at Kiveloer the seat of a celebrated Pagoda, which eastern exaggeration represented as containing enormous riches, the accumulated offerings of the piety of ages had it been plundered by a Mohammedan conqueror and the transaction recorded by a Persian historian, he would have described his hero as bearing away in his fortunate chariot, a mountain of gold. Under the vulgar persuasion, Lally ransacked, and even dug the houses dragged the tanks, and took away the idols but no treasures were found, and the idols, instead of gold were only of brass. Six unhappy Brahmens lingered about the camp, in hopes, it is probable, of recovering some of their beloved divinities. The suspicions of Lally took them for spies his violence and precipitation took his

Lally repeats with what regret he postponed the siege of Madras; and shows that it was by earnest persuasions of the Governor, and the Jesuit Laveur (nabab's secretary of most intriguing spirit, who had contrived to gain vast influence in the Councils of Pondicherry), that he undertook the expedition to Tanjore. *Néan*, p. 61.

Lally was, of course, obliged to trust to the information of those acquainted with the country; and the letters of Laveur and De Layrit, make it sufficiently appear that they exaggerated beyond measure the difficulties of the undertaking; and made him set out upon representations which they knew to be false, and promises which were never intended to be fulfilled. In fact, it would have required cooler and more fertile head than that of Lally to counteract the malignity, to stimulate the indolence, and to supply the enormous deficiencies, by which he was surrounded.

suspicious for realities, and he ordered the six Brahmens to be treated as the Europeans are accustomed to treat the natives convicted as spies, that is, to be shot away from the muzzles of the guns. The King's army took the field, and after a slight show of resistance, retreated to the capital, near which Lally arrived on the 18th of July. Conferences ensued. The King offered a sum of money, but greatly inferior to what was required. Lally offered to abate in his pecuniary demand, provided he were furnished with 600 bullocks, and a supply of gunpowder. His agents were more prudent than himself, and suppressed the article of gunpowder, the deficiency of which, if known to the King, was not likely to improve his disposition to compliance, and the bullocks, the King observed, that his religion did not permit him to grant. The cannonade and bombardment began. After a few days, the King renewed his efforts for an accommodation. The obliquities of Eastern negotiation wore out the temper of Lally, and he threatened to carry the King and all his family slaves to Mauritius. This outrage produced in the Hindu a final resolution to defend himself to the last extremity. He had early, among his applications for assistance, implored the co-operation of the English, and Captain Calhaud at Trichinopoly was commissioned to make all those efforts in his favour which his own security might appear to allow. That officer sent to him without delay a small detachment, which might feed his hopes of a more efficient support, and afford him no apology for making his peace with the French. But he was afraid to intrust him with any considerable portion of his troops, fully aware that the French might at any time make with him an accommodation, and receive his assistance to destroy the very men who had come to protect him. Upon this last occurrence Calhaud inferred that the time for accommodation was elapsed, and sent an additional detachment. Lally continued his operations, and on the 7th of August effected a breach.

At this time, however, only 150 charges of powder for the cannon, not twenty cartouches a man for the troops, and not provisions for two days, remained in the camp.¹

¹ This is the statement of Orme (ii 27). That of Lally is, "qu'il ne restoit au parc d'artillerie que trois milliers de poudre pour les canons, et vingt coups

BOOK IV The next morning intelligence was received that the Eng-
 CHAP IV lish fleet, after a fresh engagement with the French, had
 1758. anchored before Carical, from which alone the French
 army could derive its supplies. Lally summoned a council
 of war. Out of thirteen officers, two, the Count d'Estaing,
 and M. Saubinet, advised an immediate assault, considering
 the success as certain, and the landing of the English at
 Carical, while the French fleet kept the sea, as highly
 improbable. It was determined, in conformity with the
 opinion of the other eleven, to raise the siege. Intelli-
 gence of this resolution of the enemy and of the negli-
 gence and security in which they encamped, encouraged
 the Tanjorines to attempt a surprise; which brought
 Lally and his army into imminent danger. After a
 disastrous march, in which they suffered severely from
 the enemy from fatigue, and from famine, they arrived
 on the 28th at Carical, and saw the English fleet at anchor
 off the mouth of the river.

After the first of the naval engagements, the English
 fleet, before they could anchor were carried a league to
 the north of Sadras; the French, which had suffered less
 in the rigging, and sailed better anchored fifteen miles to
 the windward. The English, as soon as possible, weighed
 again, and after a fruitless endeavour to reach Fort St.
 David, discovered the French fleet on the 28th of May in
 the road of Pondicherry. The next day the French, at
 the remonstrance of Lally who sent on board a con-
 siderable body of troops, got under sail; but instead of
 bearing down on the English, unable to advance against
 the wind, proceeded to Fort St. David, where they arrived
 on the evening after the surrender. *The English sailing*

per soldier six cartouches. He adds, that he had no other balls for the cannon
 but those which were shot by the enemy, of which few corresponded with the
 calibre of his guns; that twenty-four hours' battering were still requisite to
 make the breach practicable; that he had but a few days' provisions for the
 European part of his army while the native part and the attendants were es-
 timate without provisions, and had, the greater part of them, departed. *Mém.*
ut supra, p. 72.

Lally says, that he had at the same time received letter from the com-
 manding officer at Pondicherry announcing that a body of 1,500 English, who
 had marched from Madras, were menacing Pondicherry; and one from Opeal
 Dow the Malabar, threatening with vast the territory of the French. If
 their army did not immediately evacuate Tanjore. *Mém.*, p. 72.

¹ Notwithstanding their hardships and fatigues, Lally asserts that they lost
 but little. *Ibid.* p. 81.

BOOK IV D'Estaign offered to accompany him on board, with any
 CHAP IV proportion of the troops. Lally himself moved with the
 1 & army from Carical on the 24th of August, and, having
 passed the Coleroon, hurried on with a small detachment
 to Pondicherry where he arrived on the 28th. He immediately summoned a mixed council of the administration
 and the army who joined in a fresh exposition to the
 Admiral on the necessity of repairing to Madras, where
 the success of an attack must altogether depend upon the
 union of the naval and military operations. That commander representing his ships as in a state of the greatest
 disablement, and his crews extremely enfeebled and diminished by disease, would yield to no persuasion, and
 set sail with his whole fleet for Mauritius on the 2nd of
 September¹

If we trust to the declaration of Lally his intention of
 besieging Madras, still more his hopes of taking it, were
 abandoned from that hour. Before the fleet departed, an
 expedition against Arcot, with a view to relieve the cruel
 pressure of those pecuniary wants which the disastrous
 result of the expedition to Tanjore had only augmented,
 was projected and prepared. Arcot, the capital of the
 Carnatic, had been left under the government of one of the
 principal officers of Mohammed Ali, the English Nabob,
 with a small body of Sepoys and native cavalry. With
 this officer Rajah Sahib, (the eldest son of the late
 Chunda Sahib,) now decorated by the French with the
 title of Nabob, had opened a correspondence and a treaty
 was concluded, according to which the Governor was to
 deliver up the place, to receive as a reward 13,000 rupees,
 and to be taken, along with his troops, into the pay and
 service of Lally. As auxiliary measures, the previous possession
 of the secondary forts of Trivatore, Trincomalee,
 Carangoly and Timery was deemed expedient. Lally divided
 his army into four parts, to two of which the forts
 of Carangoly and Timery surrendered without resistance.
 Trivatore and Trincomalee were taken by assault. On the

¹ These events are minutely recorded by Orme, II. 197—322. The Sketches and Criticisms of Colonel Wilks, p. 279—298 are professional and sensible. Oakesbridge, p. 125—184, goes over the same ground. A spirited abstract is given p. 80—102, by the author of the History and Management of the East India Company. For the operations of Lally, his own Memoir with the original documents in the Appendix, is in the highest degree instructive and entertaining.

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BOOK IV

CHAP. IV

1758

would be able to make, that he could prevail upon Lally to send him back, and with augmented force, to his important station. Having on his march, been joined by Moracin, the Governor of Masulipatam, who with his troops was also recalled, he left the march to be conducted by Moracin, and under a safeguard granted him from Madras, hastened to the meeting with Lally.

The head of that General was filled with the importance of his own project, the expulsion of the English from India and with contempt for the schemes of Bussy as of all other men who had different views from his own. In his letter to Bussy upon the taking of Fort St. David, he had said, "It is the whole of British India which it now remains for us to attack. I do not conceal from you that, having taken Madras, it is my resolution to repair immediately by land or by sea, to the banks of the Ganges, where your talents and experience will be of the greatest importance to me." Bussy employed every effort to convince him of the importance of retaining the advantages which he had gained in the dominions of the Subahdar and the most pressing and passionate letters arrived from the Subahdar himself. But Lally who had already treated the representations of Bussy as the visions of a madman, and had told the Governor of Pondicherry that he thought himself too condescending in reading his letters, lent a deaf ear to remonstrances which inwardly he regarded as the fruit of delusion or imposture. Apprized of the money which Dupleix had raised on his personal credit, he was not without hopes that Bussy might be possessed of similar resources and he stated as a matter of great surprise, mixed with incredulity the avowment of Bussy that in this way he was altogether incapable of aiding the general cause.

A high testimony from another quarter was yielded to the merits of Bussy. His rank as an officer was only that of Lieutenant-Colonel. Besides a Major-General, six Colonels had arrived with the army of Lally. The six Colo-

¹ Lally himself informs us, that these letters uniformly began with such expressions as these, *Envoyez M. de Bussy avec ses corps de troupes; vous savez que je ne peux pas m'en passer; or, "vous savez que je ne peux pas me passer de M. de Bussy; renvoyez le tout avec ses corps de troupes, &c. Mém. pour le Comte de Lally p. 61.*

Letter to De Leyrit, 28th of June, 1758. Mém. xi supra, Appen. No. xxxvi.

nels, yielding to the nobler impulses of the human mind, signed a requisition that Bussy might supersede them. "Their names," says Mr Oime, "highly worthy of record on this occasion, were mostly of ancient and noble descent, d'Estaign, de Landivisiau, de la Faire, Breteuil, Veidière, and Crillon"

BOOK IV
CHAP IV

1758

To whatever quarter Lally turned his eyes, he found himself beset with the greatest difficulties. The government of Pondicherry declared, as they had frequently declared before, that in their exhausted situation it was altogether impossible for them to find the means of subsisting the army at Pondicherry. When a council of war was called, the Count d'Estaign, and other officers, pronounced it better to die by a musket ball, under the ramparts of Madras, than by hunger, within those of Pondicherry. The idea of undertaking a siege, says Lally, the total want of funds excluded from the mind of every one. But it was deemed expedient to bombard the place, to shut up the English within the fort, to obtain the pillage of the black town, and to lay waste the surrounding country¹.

The Governor of Pondicherry declared that he was destitute of every species of resource, either for the pay or the maintenance of the soldiers. Lally advanced 60,000 rupees of his own money, and prevailed upon some members of the council, and other individuals in Pondicherry, to follow, in some degree, his example. From this species of contribution or loan, he obtained 34,000 rupees, which, added to his own, made a sum of 94,000. This was the treasure with which, at the head of 2700 European troops, and 4000 Indians, he marched against Madras.

The expedition was ready for its departure at the beginning of November, but the continuance of the rains retarded its arrival before Madras till the 12th of December, when Lally had not funds to ensure the subsistence of the army for a single week. The English had made active use of the intervening period for providing themselves with the means of defence. When Admiral Pocock quitted the coast in October to avoid the monsoon, he left behind him the marines of the squadron, and was expected back in January. A body of cavalry, under an adventurer of the

¹ Mém. ut supra, i 93, 100

BOOK IV country was taken into pay and so posted, along with the
 CHAP IV Sepoys from Trichinopoly as to make war upon the line
 1758 of the enemy's convoys. The veteran Lawrence, who was
 still in Madras, was put at the head of the troops and
 took post with the greater part of the army on elevated
 ground at some distance from the town. It was not, how-
 ever his intention to run the risk of an action and as the
 enemy advanced, he gradually yielded ground, till on the 12th
 he entered the fort with all his army. The command in
 the fort belonged to the Governor Pigot. But he was an
 intelligent, and an active man and the harmony of the de-
 fence experienced no interruption. The military within
 the walls now consisted of 1,58 Europeans, 2220 Sepoys,
 and 200 horse of the Nabob, on whom by experience little
 dependance was placed. The other Europeans were 150
 men, who were employed without distinction in serving
 out stores, and other auxiliary operations.

On the 13th the enemy remained on the plain, and
 reconnoitred the place. On the 14th, early in the morning,
 they took possession of the black town, where the soldiery
from want of skill or authority on the part of their com-
mander abandoned themselves to intemperance and dis-
order In hopes of profiting by this opportunity the
 English made a strong sally with 600 chosen men. They
 penetrated into the black town before the enemy were col-
 lected in sufficient numbers but were at last opposed by
 a force which they could not withstand and, had the divi-
 sion of the enemy which was under the command of Bussey
 advanced with sufficient promptitude to cut off their re-
 treat, it is highly probable that few of them would have
 made their escape. Lally adduces the testimony of the
 officers, who commanded under Bussey that they joined in
 urging him to intercept the English detachment but that
 he, alleging the want of cannon, absolutely refused.
 Mr Orme says that he justified himself by the delay of
 Lally's orders, without which it was contrary to his duty
 to advance. To gain, however a great advantage at a cri-
 tical moment, a zealous officer will adventure somewhat,
 under some deficiency both of cannon and of orders. The
 loss on the part of the English was not less than 200 sol-
 diers, and six officers. In mere numbers that of the
 enemy was nearly the same.

The capture of the black town had furnished to Lally for the demands of the service only 80,000 livres, lent to him by an Armenian merchant, whom he had saved from plunder, and to these were added 12,000 livres furnished by a Hindu partisan. With these funds he began to construct his batteries, in the intention, as he repeats, of only bombarding the place, when intelligence was brought, on the 24th of December, that a frigate from the islands had arrived at Pondicherry with a million of livres. It was this circumstance, he says, which now determined him to convert the bombardment into a siege.

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CHAP. IV

1738

With only two engineers, and three artillery officers, excepting the few who belonged to the Company, all deficient both in knowledge and enterprise, with officers in general dissatisfied and ill-disposed, with only the common men on whom he could depend, and of whose alacrity he never had reason to complain, he carried on the siege with a vigour and activity which commanded the respect even of the besieged, though they were little acquainted with the difficulties under which he toiled. By means of the supplies which had plentifully arrived from Bengal, and the time which the Presidency had enjoyed to make preparation for siege, the English were supplied with an abundance both of money and of stores. The resolution to defend themselves to the utmost extremity, which has seldom been shared more universally and cordially by any body of men, inspired them with incessant vigilance and activity. The industry of the enemy was perpetually counteracted by a similar industry on the part of their opponents. No sooner had those without erected a work, than the most active, and enterprising, and often skilful exertions were made from within to destroy it. Whatever ingenuity the enemy employed in devising measures of attack, was speedily discovered by the keen and watchful eyes of the defenders. A breach, in spite of all those exertions, was however effected, and the mind of Lally was intensely engaged with preparations for the assault, when he found the officers of his army altogether indisposed to second his ardour. Mr Orme declares his opinion that then objections were founded on real and prudential considerations, and that an attempt to storm the place would

BOOK IV
 CHAP IV
 ———
 1768.

have been attended with repulse and disaster Lally however says that the most odious intrigues were carried on in the army and groundless apprehensions were propagated, to shake the resolution of the soldiers, and prevent the execution of the plan that the situation of the General was thus rendered critical in the highest degree, and the chance of success exceedingly diminished yet he still adhered to his design, and only waited for the setting of the moon, which in India sheds a light not much feebler than that of a winter sun, on the very day on which an English fleet of six sail arrived at Madras.

The fleet under Admiral Pocock, which had left Madras on the 11th of October had arrived at Bombay on the 10th of December where they found six of the Company's ships, and two ships of the line with 600 of the King's troops on board. On the 31st of December the Company's ships, with all the troops, sailed from Bombay under the convoy of two frigates, and arrived on the 16th of February at a critical moment, at Madras Words, says Lally "are inadequate to express the effect which the appearance of them produced. The officer who commanded in the trenches deemed it even inexpedient to wait for the landing of the enemy and two hours before receiving orders retired from his post.

Lally was now constrained to abandon the siege. The officers and soldiers had been on no more than half pay during the first six weeks of the expedition, and entirely destitute of pay during the remaining three. The expenses of the siege and the half pay had consumed, during the first month, the million livres which had arrived from the islands. The officers were on the allowance of the soldiers. The subsistence of the army for the last fifteen days had depended almost entirely upon some rice and butter, captured in two small vessels from Bengal. A very small quantity of gunpowder remained in the camp and not a larger at Pondicherry. The bombs were wholly consumed three weeks before. The Sepoys deserted for want of pay and the European cavalry threatened every hour to go over to the enemy. The defence of Pondicherry rested upon 300 invalids and, within twelve hours, the English, with their reinforcements, might land and take possession

of the place On the night of the 17th the French army BOOK IV.
decamped from Madras, and the English made no efforts CHAP IV
to molest then retreat¹

We may judge of the feelings towards one another, of Lally and his countrymen, when he tells us, that the retreat of the army from Madras produced at Pondicherry the strongest demonstrations of joy, and was celebrated by his enemies as an occasion of triumph

1758

The Nabob, Mohammed Ali, who had retreated into Madras when the French regained the ascendancy in the province, had been removed during the siege to Trichinopoly, and of his two refractory brothers Abdul Wahab and Nujeeb Oolla, who had taken the side of the French, the former returned to the English connexion, before the siege of Madras, and was joined to the party of the English kept in the field to act upon the enemy's communications the latter, induced by the event of the siege to anticipate success to the party which he had renounced, murdered all the French in his service, except a single officer, and professed himself a partisan of the English

The English now elevated their hopes to the recovery of the province, but found their operations cramped by the narrowness of their funds It was the 6th of March before the army, consisting of 1156 Europeans, rank and file, 1570 Sepoys, 1120 collieries (irregular troops of the southern Polygars,) and 1956 horse, was in a condition to move The countries of Madura and Tinivelly at the same time recalled the attention of the Presidency No sooner had the troops been withdrawn for the defence of Madras, than the refractory chiefs began their encroachments Only the towns of Madura and Palam-Cotah, preserved by the steadiness of the Sepoys in garrison, remained in obedience to the English. And Mohammed Issoof, who had commanded with reputation the Company's native troops, in their former attempts in that country, was now sent back in the quality of renter, with a body of Sepoys, for the recovery of the country.

¹ Orme, li 383—459, *Mém pour Lally*, p 99—117 Of the sick and wounded, those who were too ill to be removed, to the number of thirty-three, according to Lally's own account to that of forty-four according to Mr Orme's, were left behind, and recommended by a letter of Lally to the English commander They were treated, as Lally himself declares, with all the care which the laws, both of war and of humanity, prescribed.

BOOK IV

CHAPTER IV

1769.

The French army had marched from Madras in the direction of Conjeveram and there the French and English armies remained in sight of one another without any operation of importance, for two and twenty days. The English, at the end of this time, made a march upon Wandewash took possession of the town, and began to open ground against the fort. This brought the French army to defend it upon which the English decamped in the night by a forced march of two days arrived at Conjeveram, and took it by assault. The two armies continued to watch one another till the 28th of May when they both went into cantonments.

On the 28th of April, Admiral Pococke had arrived upon the coast from Bombay but had continued to windward of Pondicherry, and principally at Negapatnam, with a view to intercept the French squadron, which was expected from the Isles. And near the end of June three of the usual ships arrived at Madras, with 100 recruits of the Company and intelligence that Lieutenant-Colonel Coote, with 1000 of the King's troops, might be shortly expected on the coast. The satisfaction, however which this good fortune was calculated to excite, was grievously damped by an attendant piece of advice that the Court of Directors, dazled," as Mr Orme expresses it, by representations of the great wealth acquired by the conquest of Bengal, and of its sufficiency to supply their other predilections, had determined to send no more treasure to any of them till the year 1760. From the first moment of Indian conquests to a late period in their history were the Company led into blunders, and were but too successful in misleading the councils of the nation, by their absurd estimates of the pecuniary value of Indian dominion. This intelligence was so disastrous, and full of discouragement, "that for every reason," says Mr Orme, "it was kept within the Council."

Towards the end of July five of the expected ships, with the first division of the troops, arrived at Negapatnam, and having given out the provisions and stores which they had brought for the use of the squadron, sailed for Madras. On the 20th of August the squadron left Negapatnam, and sailed for Trincomalee, in the island of Ceylon, where the French fleet was descried, on the 2d of September D'Aché

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marched from Conjevaram on the 26th of September. The principal part of the French forces were concentrated at Wandewash and the enterprise was unsuccessful. The English made a spirited attack on the night of the 29th, but were resisted with great gallantry and finally repulsed with a loss of more than 200 men. In this action, a detachment of grenadiers were very expeditiously quitting the vicinity of danger when their officer, instead of calling after them, an imprudence which would, in all probability have converted their retreat into a flight, run till he got before them, and then, turning suddenly round, said, Halt, as giving the ordinary word of command. The habit of discipline prevailed. The men stopped, formed according to orders, and marched back into the scene of action. But this success of the French, however brilliant, *neither clothed the men nor supplied them with provisions.* Neither the English nor the French had ever been able to draw from the districts which they held in the country sufficient funds to defray the expense of the troops, employed in conquering and defending them. A considerable portion of those districts, which the French had been able to seize upon the arrival of Lally the English had again recovered. The Government of Pondicherry left almost wholly destitute of supplies from Europe, was utterly exhausted, first, by the long and desperate struggle in which they had been engaged and secondly (for the truth must not be disguised, though the complaints of Lally have long been treated with ridicule,) by the misapplication of the public funds a calamity of which the violent passion of individuals for private wealth was a copious and perennial fountain. Lally had, from his first arrival, been struggling on the borders of despair with wants which it was altogether out of his power to supply. The English had received, or were about to receive, the most important accession to their power. And nothing but the fleet, which had now arrived, and the supplies which it might have brought, could enable him much longer to contend with the difficulties which environed him.

M. d'Aché had brought, for the use of the colony 15,000*l.* in dollars, with a quantity of diamonds, valued at 17,000*l.*, which had been taken in an English East India

man, and, having landed these effects, together with 180 men, he declared his resolution of sailing again immediately for the islands. Nothing could exceed the surprise and consternation of the colony upon this unexpected and alarming intelligence. Even those who were the most indifferent to the success of affairs, when the reputation of Lally, and the interest of their country alone were at stake, now began to tremble, when the very existence of the colony, and their interests along with it, were threatened with inevitable destruction. All the principal inhabitants, civil and military, assembled at the Governor's house, and formed themselves into a national council. A vehement protest was signed against the departure of the fleet. But the resolution of the Admiral was inflexible, and he could only be induced to leave 400 Caffres, who served in the fleet, and 500 Europeans, partly marines and partly sailors.

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1759

At the same time the departure of Bussy had been attended, in the dominions of the Subahdar, with a rapid succession of events, ruinous to the interests of the French. An expedition from Bengal, fitted out by the English against the Northern Circars, those important districts of which Bussy had obtained the dominion from Salabut Jung, had been attended with the most brilliant success, had not only driven the French entirely out of the country, but had compelled the Subahdar to solicit a connexion with the English. Nizam Ali, whose audacious and aspiring character rendered him extremely dangerous to the feeble resources and feebler mind of his brother, had returned from his flight, to which he had been urged by the spirit and address of Bussy, at the head of a considerable army, and compelled the Subahdar to replace him in that commanding situation, from which he had recently been driven. Bassalut Jung, the second of the three brothers, who anticipated the revolution which the victorious return of Nizam Ali portended, promised himself important advantages from the assistance of the French, in the changes which he expected to ensue and despatched a letter to Lally, in which he told him he was coming to throw himself into his arms¹. Bussy urged in strong terms the policy of declaring Bassalut Jung Nabob

¹ Mem pour Lally, p 135

BOOK IV of the Carnatic. This was opposed by the step which had
 CHAP IV been recently taken by Lally of making this declaration,
 1759. with much ceremony and pomp, in favour of the son of
 Chunda Saheb. It was, however, agreed that a body of
 troops, under the command of Bussy should be sent to
 join Bassalut Jung, who hovered upon the borders of the
 Carnatic. He had left Hyderabad, under pretence of
 regulating the affairs of his government of Adoni; but he
 soon directed his march toward the south-east, supporting
 his army by levying contributions as he proceeded, and
 approached Nelore in the month of July

M. Bussy arrived at Wandewash the very day after the
 repulse of the English and, having placed himself at the
 head of the detachment, which was destined to accompany
 him to the camp of Bassalut Jung, proceeded on his march.
 But the French army which had long been enduring ex-
 traordinary privations, now broke out in the most alarming
 disorders. More than a year's pay was due to them they
 were destitute of clothing, and many times ill-supplied
 with provisions. The opinion was disseminated, that a
 much larger sum than was pretended had been left by the
 fleet and that the General was acquiring immense wealth
 by dilapidation. On the 16th of October the whole army
 was in mutiny and the officers deprived of all authority.
 Intelligence of these disastrous events overtook Bussy at
 Arcot, and induced him to suspend his march. The troops
 were at last restored to obedience by the payment of six
 months of their arrears, and a complete amnesty. But the
 delays which had intervened had exhausted the resources
 which enabled Bassalut Jung to remain on the borders of
 the Carnatic. He was at the same time solicited, by a
 promised enlargement of his territory to join with Nizam
 Ali, who dreaded the re-appearance of M. Bussy in the
 territories of the Subahdar. his ardour for the French
 alliance was cooled by the intelligence of the disorders
 among their troops. he was alarmed by the presence of
 an English corps of observation, which had been sent to
 act upon his rear if he should advance into the province
 and on the 19th of October he struck off across the hills
 into the district of Kurpa where Bussy who followed
 him by a different route, arrived on the 10th of November
 Bassalut Jung offered to accompany the French detach-

ment to Arcot, provided he was recognised by the French as sovereign of the Carnatic, and furnished with four lacks of rupees for the payment of his troops. The French were not without objections to the first of these conditions, and altogether incapable of fulfilling the last. The negotiation, therefore, proved fruitless, and Bussy returned, with an addition, however, of 400 good horse, whom he had found the means of attaching to his service¹

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1759

Urged by the necessity of making efforts for the supply, and even subsistence, of the army, Lally, shortly after the reconciliation of his troops, thought proper to divide his army into two parts, with the one of which he proposed to collect the rents of the southern, with the other, stationed at Wandewash and Arcot, to protect what belonged to the French in the northern districts. De Leyrit and the Council of Pondicherry represented the danger, which could not be concealed from Lally himself, of dividing the army in the presence of a superior enemy, but they pointed out no means by which it was possible to preserve it together. On the 20th of November, the division which marched to the south took possession of the rich island of Seringham, which the garrison at Trichinopoly was too feeble to defend.

The English took the field. Colonel Coote, with the last division of his regiment, had arrived on the 27th of October, and on the 21st of November proceeded to Conjeveram, where the troops were cantoned for the rains. The first of his acts was to assemble a council of the principal officers, that he might obtain from them a knowledge of facts, and profit by their observations. To divide the attention of the enemy, he began with movements which indicated an attack upon Arcot, but his real intention was to gain possession of Wandewash, which was attacked and carried on the 29th. The inaction of the French army, at Chittapet, which, probably deeming itself too weak, made no effort for the protection of Wandewash, induced the English to march immediately to Caran-

¹ In the account of Bussy's march, I have followed his own and Orme's account. Lally (Mém p 136) complains of his delays, and insinuates that to the misconduct through which these delays took place, the loss of Bassalat Jung's alliance ought to be ascribed.

BOOK IV goly which made a feeble resistance, and surrendered on
 CHAP IV the 10th of December

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The loss of Arcot, and with it the command of all the northern districts of the province, now presented itself to the eyes of Lally as threatening to an alarming degree. The greater part of the troops was hastily recalled from Seringham. Bussy at the same time arrived from his expedition to the camp of Bessalut Jung a Mahratta chief and his body of horse were taken into pay and Lally was eager to strike a blow for the recovery of Wandewash.

Bussy on the other hand, was of opinion, as the French were superior in cavalry which would render it dangerous for the English to hazard a battle, except in circumstances of advantage, that they should avail themselves of this superiority by acting upon the communications of the English, which would soon compel them either to fight at a disadvantage, or retire for subsistence to Madras whereas if they besieged Wandewash, the English would have two important advantages one, that of fighting with only a part of the French army while another part was engaged in the siege the other that of choosing the advantage of the ground, from the obligation of the French to cover the besiegers.

At the same time the motives of Lally were far from groundless. The mental state of the soldiers required some brilliant exploit to raise them to the temper of animated action. He was deprived of all means of keeping the army for any considerable time in the field. By seizing the English magazines, he counted upon retarding for several days their march to the relief of Wandewash and as the English had breached the fort and taken it in forty eight hours, he counted, and not unreasonably upon rendering himself master of the place before the English could arrive.

Amusing the English, by some artful movements, he surprised and took Conjeveram, which he concluded was the place of the English magazines. The fact however was, that the English had no magazines, but were dependent on the purchases of the day and already straitened for supplies by the extensive excursions of his Mahratta horse Lally repaired to Wandewash but several days

elapsed before his battery was ready to play, and in the meantime the English approached. Lally throws the blame upon his engineer, whom he ordered to batter in breach with three cannon upon one of the towers of the fort, which was only protected by the fire of a single piece, and which, five weeks before, the English with inferior means had breached in forty-eight hours. But the engineers insisted upon erecting a battery in exact conformity with the rules of the schools, and the soldiers in derision asked if they were 'going to attack the fortifications of Luxemburgh' ¹

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The project of Lally having in this manner failed, now was the time, at any rate, to have profited by the judicious advice of Bussy, and, abandoning the siege, to have made war upon the English means of supply. But Lally, who was aware that his character had fallen low with the army, could not brook the imputation of retreating before his enemy, he prepared, therefore, to meet the attack of the English army, and to continue his operations. It was the policy of the English commander to leave the enemy at work, till they were ready to assault the fort, when he was sure of attacking separately, at his choice, either the troops engaged in the siege, or those who covered them. His movements were judiciously made, and on the morning of the 22d, he was on the ground before the French camp, his army drawn up in two lines in a most advantageous position, where he had a free communication with the fort, and one of his flanks protected by its fire. The French occupied the ground in front of their line, where the field of battle had previously been marked out. The English army consisted of 1900 Europeans, of whom eighty were cavalry, 2100 Sepoys, 1250 black horse, and twenty-six field-pieces. The French, including 300 marines and sailors from the squadron, consisted of 2250 Europeans, and 1300 Sepoys, for the Mahrattas kept aloof at the distance of some miles from the field of battle ². Lally, and apparently with reason, com-

¹ *Mém pour Lally*, p. 161, Orme (II 577) says that cannon for the battery, which did not open till the 20th, six days after Lally took possession of the Pettah or town adjoining the fort, were brought from Valdore on carriages sent from Pondicherry.

² Orme, II 582. Lally (*Mém* p. 161) gives a very different account of the respective numbers: that the French had 900 infantry, 150 cavalry, 300 marines.

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1789

plains that his troops did their duty ill in the action. While the English army were advancing, Lally who imagined he perceived some wavering on their left, occasioned by the fire of his artillery though Mr Orme says they had not yet come within cannon-shot, put himself at the head of the cavalry to profit by the favourable moment. The cavalry refused to march. The General suspended the Commanding Officer and ordered the second Captain to take the command. He, also, disobeyed. Lally addressed himself to the men and a Cornet crying out that it was a shame to desert their General in the day of battle, the officer who commanded on the left offered to put the troop in motion. They had not advanced many paces, when a single cannon-shot, says Lally the rapid firing of two pieces, says Mr Orme, put them to flight, and they galloped off, leaving him absolutely alone upon the plain.¹ Lally returned to the infantry and brought up his line. The French fired rashly and ineffectually both with artillery and musketry; the English leader who was cool, and perfectly obeyed, made his men reserve their fire, till sure of its execution. The regiment that occupied the enemy's right, when the distance between them and the English was now inconsiderable, threw themselves into column, and rushed forward at a rapid pace. Coote, directing the opposite regiment to be firm, and preserve their fire, gave the command when the enemy were at fifty yards distance. The fire fell heavy both on their front and flanks. Yet it stopped not the course of the column; and in an instant the two regiments were mingled at the push of the bayonet. The weight of the column bore down what was opposed to it; but as it had been left unprotected by the flight of the cavalry posted on its right, its flanks were

and soldiers, in all 1300 Europeans, with 1800 Sepoys; and that the English had 2500 infantry, and 100 cavalry, all Europeans; of black troops nearly an equal number with the French.—There is some appearance that Mr Orme's account of the French force is conjectural, and hence exaggerated, as all his numbers are round numbers, one regiment 400, another 700, another 400, cavalry 300, &c. Perhaps we ought to trust to Lally's account of his own forces, because it was given in the face of his enemies, who were interested, and well able, to contradict it if untrue; and we need not hesitate to take Mr Orme's account of the English, where his knowledge was complete.

Mr Orme (B. 343) says, that two field-pieces, which fired several times in one minute, and brought down ten or fifteen men or horses, caused the flight.

completely exposed, and in a few moments the ground was covered with the slain, when it broke, and fled in disorder to the camp. Almost at the same time a tumbail blew up in the redoubt in front of the enemy's left, and during the confusion which this accident produced, the English took possession of the post. No part of the French line continued firm much longer. When ordered to advance, the Sepoys absolutely refused. Bussy, who put himself at the head of one of the regiments, to lead them to the push of the bayonet, as the only chance of restoring the battle, had his horse wounded under him, was abandoned by the troops, and taken prisoner. Lally frankly acknowledges, that his cavalry, who had behaved so ill at the beginning of the action, protected his retreat with great gallantry. he was thus enabled to wait for the junction of the detachment at Wandewash, and to carry off his light baggage and the wounded. The black cavalry of the English were too timid, and the European too feeble in numbers, to impede the retreat.

Lally retired to Chittapet, from which, without strengthening the garrison, he proceeded the following day towards Gingee. The enterprise next resolved on by Colonel Coote was the reduction of Arcot, toward which, the day after the battle, he sent forward a body of troops. Intelligence, however, of the defenceless state in which the enemy had left Chittapet, gave him hopes of making that a previous acquisition. In two days the English effected a breach, and the garrison surrendered. On the 1st of February, Coote arrived at Arcot. On the 5th three batteries opened on the town. On the night of the 6th the army began their approaches. Although operations were retarded for want of ammunition, on the morning of the 9th the sap was carried near the foot of the glacis, and by noon, two breaches, but far from practicable, were effected, when, to the great surprise of the English, a flag of truce appeared, and the place was surrendered. Not three men had been lost to the garrison, and they might have held out ten days longer, before the assault by storm could have been risked.

From Gingee Lally withdrew the French troops to Val-dore, both to prevent the English from taking post between them and Pondicherry, and to protect the districts to the

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south, from which alone provisions could be obtained. The difficulties of Lally which had so long been great, were now approaching to extremity. The army was absolutely without equipments, stores, and provisions, and he was destitute of resources to supply them. He repaired to Pondicherry to demand assistance, which he would not believe that the governor and council were unable to afford. He represented them as embezzlers and peculators and there was no imputation of folly or cowardice, or of dishonesty which was spared against him in return.

To proceed with the reduction of the secondary forts which the enemy held in different parts of the province to straiten Pondicherry and, if sufficient force should not arrive from France for its relief, to undertake the reduction of that important place, was the plan of operations which the English embraced. The country between Alamparva and Pondicherry was plundered and burnt. Timery surrendered on the 1st of February; Devi-Cotah was evacuated about the same time on the 29th of the same month Trincomalee surrendered the fort of Permacoil was taken after some resistance in the beginning of March and Alamparva on the 19th. Carical now remained the only station on the coast, except Pondicherry in possession of the French and of this it was important to deprive them, before the shortly expected return of the fleet. A large armament was sent from Madras, and the officer who commanded at Trichinopoly was ordered to march to Carical with all the force which could be spared from the garrison. Lally endeavoured to send a strong detachment to its relief but the place made a miserable defence, and yielded on the 5th of April before assistance could arrive. On the 15th of that month Vallore surrendered after a feeble resistance as did Chillumbaram on the 20th. Cuddalore was taken about the same time, and several strong attempts by the enemy to regain it were successfully resisted.

¹ Lally says (*Tableau Histor. de l'Expédition de l'Inde*, p. 27), and apparently with justice. Il n'est pas étonnant que si l'ennemi se fût senti tout de suite [after the battle of Wandewash] sur Pondicherry il eût été rendu maître en huit jours. Il n'y avoit pas un grana de riz dans la place; les lettres, papiers, ordres, et nouvelles quo le Comte De Lally employoit depuis deux ans vis-à-vis du Sieur de Leyrit, n'étoient pu le défendre à y former un seul magasin. The English leaders appear to have had no conception of the extremely reduced state of the French, and how safe it would have been to strike a decisive blow at the seat of the colony.

By the 1st of May the French army was confined to the bounds of Pondicherry, and the English encamped within four miles of the town, the English powerfully reinforced from England, and elated with remembrance of the past, as well as hope for the future, their antagonists abandoned, by neglect at home, to insuperable difficulties, and looking with eager eyes to the fleet, which never arrived. On the part of the English, Admiral Cornish had reached the coast with six ships of the line, before the end of February. On the 25th of April Admiral Stevens, who now commanded in room of Pocock, arrived with four ships of the line, and on the 23d of May came another ship of the line, with three companies of the royal artillery on board.

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As the last remaining chance of prolonging the struggle for the preservation of the French colony, Lally turned his eyes towards the natives, and fixed upon the Mysoreans as the power most capable of rendering him the assistance which he required. The adventurer Hyder Ali was now at the head of a formidable army, and, though not as yet without powerful opponents, had nearly at his disposal the resources of Mysore. Negotiation was performed, and an agreement was concluded. On the one hand the Mysorean chief undertook to supply a certain quantity of bullocks for the provision of Pondicherry, and to join the French with 3000 select horse, and 5000 Sepoys. On the other hand the French consented to give the Mysoreans immediate possession of the fort of Thiagar, a most important station, near two of the principal passes into the Carnatic, at an easy distance from Baramhal, about fifty miles E.S.E. from Pondicherry. Even Madura and Tinivelly were said to be promised, if by aid of such valuable allies the war in the Carnatic were brought to a favourable conclusion. This resource proved of little importance to the French. The Mysoreans (who routed however a detachment of the English army sent to interrupt their march) were soon discouraged by what they beheld of the condition of the French, and soon recalled by an emergency which deeply affected Hyder at home. They remained in the vicinity of Pondicherry about four weeks, during which time Lally had found it impossible to draw from them any material service, and departing in the night, without his know-

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ledge, they marched back to Mysora. A few days before their departure six of the English Company's ships arrived at Madras with king's troops to the amount of 600 men - On the 2nd of September one month later several other ships of the Company arrived, and along with them three ships of war and a portion of a Highland regiment of the King, increasing the fleet in India to the amount of seventeen sail of the line.

Lally had now and it is no ordinary praise, during almost eight months since the total discomfiture of his army at Wandewash, imposed upon the English so much respect, as deterred them from the siege of Pondicherry and, notwithstanding the desperate state of his resources, found means to supply the fort, which had been totally destitute of provisions, with a stock sufficient to maintain the garrison for several months. And he still resolved to strike a blow which might impress them with an opinion that he was capable of offensive operations of no inconsiderable magnitude. He formed a plan, which has been allowed to indicate both judgment and sagacity for attacking the English camp by surprise in four places on the night of the 4th of September. But one of the four divisions, into which his army was formed for the execution of the enterprise, fell behind its time, and disconcerted the operations of the remainder.

A circumstance now occurred in the English army which affords another proof (we shall find abundance of them as we proceed) of the impossibility of governing any country well from the distance of half the circumference of the globe. No government, which had any regard to the maxims either of justice or of prudence, would deprive of his authority a commander who, like Colonel Coote, had brought a great and arduous service to the verge of completion, at the very moment when, without a chance of failure, he was about to strike the decisive blow which would give to his preceding operations the principal part of their splendour and renown. Yet the East India Company without intending so reprehensible a conduct, and from their unavoidable ignorance of what after many months was to be the state of affairs, had sent out a commissioner, with the fleet just arrived, for Major Monson the second in command, to supersede Coote, who was destined

for Bengal Monson was indeed directed to make no use of his commission while Coote remained upon the coast, but the spirit of Coote would not permit him to make any advantage of this indulgence, and had he been less a man of sense and temper, had he been more governed by that boyish sensibility to injury, which among vulgar people passes for honour, this imprudent step of the Company would have been attended with the most serious consequences When Coote was to proceed to Bengal it was the destination of his regiment to proceed along with him The Council of Madras were thrown into the greatest alarm Monson declared that if the regiment were removed he would not undertake the siege of Pondicherry Coote consented that his regiment should remain, to encircle the brows of another with laurels which belonged to his own

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Around Pondicherry, like many other towns in India, ran a hedge of the strong prickly shrubs of the country, sufficiently strong to repel the sudden incursions of the irregular cavalry of the country As the position of the French was contrived to give it whatsoever protection this rampart could yield, the first operation of Monson was intended to deprive them of that advantage The attack was, indeed, successful, but through mismanagement on the part of some of the officers, the plan was badly executed, and considerable loss was incurred. Among the rest, Monson himself was wounded, and rendered incapable for a time of acting in the field Colonel Coote had not yet sailed for Bengal, and Monson and the Council joined in requesting him to resume the command He returned to the camp on the 20th of September, and actively proceeded with the reduction of the outposts When the rains began, in the beginning of October, the camp was removed to an elevated ground at some distance from the town, and during the rains no efforts were made, except those on the part of the French, to introduce provisions, and those on the part of the English, to frustrate their attempts About the beginning of December, the rains drawing to a close, preparations were made for improving the blockade into more expeditious methods of reduction Several batteries were prepared, which played on the town from the 8th to the 30th of December On that day a

BOOK IV dreadful storm arose, which stranded three of the English
 CHAP IV ships in the road, and seriously damaged the greater part
 ————— of the fleet while it tore up the tents of the soldiers,
 1 CL. and threw the camp into the utmost confusion. Fortunately the inundation produced by the storm rendered it impracticable for the enemy to move their artillery nor could the troops carry their own ammunition dry. The greatest diligence was exerted in restoring the works. An attempt failed, which was made on the 5th of January to obtain possession of a redoubt still retained by the enemy. But on the 12th of January the trenches were opened. The enemy were now reduced to the last stage of privation. Lally himself was sick worn out with vexation and fatigue. The dissensions which raged within the fort had deprived him of almost all authority a very feeble resistance was therefore made to the progress of the English works. The provisions, which such arduous efforts had been required to introduce into the fort, had been managed without economy the importunities of Lally to force away the black inhabitants, who consumed the stores of the place with so much rapidity were resisted, till matters were approaching to the last extremity. While provisions for some days yet remained, Lally urged the Council, since a capitulation must regard the civil as well as the military affairs of the colony to concert general measures for obtaining the most favourable terms and procured nothing but chicanery in return. The device of the Council was to preserve to themselves, if possible, the appearance of having had no share in the unpopular transaction of surrender and the advantage, dear to their resentments, of throwing with all its weight the blame upon Lally. When at last not two days provisions remained in the magazines, Lally informed them that he was reduced to the necessity of delivering up the military possession of the place for the civil affairs it rested with them to make what provision was in their power. Towards the close of day on the 14th a commissioner from Lally together with a deputation from the council, approached the English camp. The enemy claimed the benefit of a cartel which had been concluded between the two crowns, and which they represented as precluding them from proposing any capitulation for the town of Pondicherry. As

a dispute respecting that cartel remained still undecided, Coote refused to be guided by it, or to accept any other terms than those of an unconditional surrender. Their compliance, as he concluded with sufficient assurance, the necessity of their affairs rendered wholly indispensable

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1761

On the fourth day after the surrender, there arose between the English civil and military authorities a dispute, which, had the military been as daring as the civil, might have been attended with the most serious consequences. Mr Pigot, the Governor of Madras, made a formal demand, that Pondicherry should be given up to the Presidency, as the property of the East India Company. Coote assembled a council of war, consisting of the chief officers, both of the fleet and the army, who were of opinion that the place ought to be held for the disposal of the King. Pigot, with a hardihood which subdued them, though, in a man without arms in his hands, toward men on whose arms he totally depended, it might have been a hardihood attended with risk, declared that, unless Pondicherry were given up to the Presidency, he would furnish no money for the subsistence of the King's troops or the French prisoners. Upon this intimation the military authorities submitted.

Two places in the Carnatic, Thiagar, and the strong fort of Gingee, still remained in possession of the French. The garrisons, however, who saw no hope of relief, made but a feeble resistance, and on the 5th of April Gingee surrendered, after which the French had not a single military post in India. For even Mahé and its dependencies, on the Malabar coast, had been attacked and reduced by a body of troops which the fleet landed in the month of January. The council of Madras lost no time in leveling the town and fortifications of Pondicherry with the ground.¹

Dreadful was the fate which awaited the unfortunate Lally, and important are the lessons which it reads. By the feeble measures of a weak and defective government, a

¹ This, as Orme remarks, was in retaliation of the design of the French Government, avowed as the object of the expedition of Labourdonnais, the policy of Dupleix and the armament of Lally, the utter extirpation of the English, and destruction of their settlements in the Peninsula. H 734 —\V

BOOK IV Meor Jaffier Before the battle of Plassy which rendered
 CHAP. V him Subahdar his own resources were scanty and precarious.
 1757 The liberality of Aliverdi, the expence of his war with the Mahrattas, and the ravages of that destructive enemy left in the treasury of the province a scanty inheritance to Suraj-ad-dowla. The thoughtless profligacy of that prince, even had his reign been of adequate duration, was not likely to add to the riches of the state. To purchase the conspiracy of the English, Meor Jaffier with the prodigality of Eastern profusion, had promised sums which he was altogether unable to pay the chiefs whom he had debauched by the hopes of sharing in his fortunes, were impatient to reap the fruits of their rebellion and the pay of the troops was deeply in arrear. In these circumstances it was almost impossible for any man to yield satisfaction. The character of Meor Jaffier was ill calculated for approaching to that point of perfection.

In making promises, with a view to the attainment of any great and attractive object, an Indian sovereign seldom intends to perform any more than just as much as he may find it unavoidable to perform; and counts in general, too, with a well-grounded certainty upon evading a considerable part at least of that for which he had engaged. To Meor Jaffier the steadiness with which the English adhered to the original stipulations appeared, for a time, the artifice merely of cunning men, who protract an accommodation for the purpose of rendering it more advantageous. Private bribes to defeat public ends, in Oriental politics, an engine seldom worked in vain, were applied with some perseverance. When he found the rigid fulfilment of the vast engagements to the English, still peremptorily and urgently claimed, he was not only surprised but exasperated and began to hope, that some favourable event would deliver him from such obstinate and troublesome associates.

The English were not the parties against whom his animosities were first displayed. Aliverdi Khan, aware of the rebellious and turbulent spirit which almost always reigned among those adventurers from Iran and Turan, who commonly rose to the chief command in the armies of the Mohammedan princes in Hindustan, had adopted

the sagacious policy of bringing forward the gentle, the less enterprising, and less dangerous Hindus And he had raised various individuals of that race to the principal places of power and emolument under his government Of Ramnarain, whom he intrusted with the important government of Berar, the reader has already received information Dooloob Ram, another Hindu, held the grand office of Dewan, or Superintendent of the Finances That celebrated family, the Sets, of Mooishedabad, who by merchandise and banking had acquired the wealth of princes, and often aided him in his trials, were admitted largely to share in his councils, and to influence the operations of his government Aliverdi had recommended the same policy to Suraj-ad-dowla, and that prince had met with no temptation to depart from it¹

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Meer Jaffier was placed under the deepest obligations to Dooloob Ram When he was convicted of malversation in his office, and stood in disgrace with his master, it was Dooloob Ram who had made his peace² In the late revolution, Dooloob Ram had espoused his interests, when the influence of that minister, and his command of treasure, might have conferred the prize upon another chief Whether he dreaded the power of the Hindu connexion, or was stimulated with a desire of their wealth, Meer Jaffier resolved to crush them, and with Dooloob Ram, as the most powerful individual, it was prudent to begin Before the departure of Clive, he had summoned Ramram-sing, the Governor of Midnapore, and head of the Spy-office, to repair to the capital to answer for the arrears of his government, but the cautious Hindu, already alarmed, evaded the mandate by sending two of his relations The Nabob—so by the English now was Jaffier styled, threw both into prison, and easily reconciled Clive, by informing him, that Ramramsing was an enemy to the English, and had been the agent through whom the correspondence between Suraj-ad-dowla and Bussy had been carried on. A close connexion had long subsisted between Ramram-sing and Dooloob Ram, and the latter, to whose sagacity the designs of Jaffier were not a secret, regarded the present step as a preliminary part of the plan which was laid for his own destruction

¹ Orme, ii 53

² Seer Mutakhhareen, ii 8

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Oude the likelihood that the English would be recalled to the defence of their own settlement by the arrival of the French and the danger lest Ramnarain should bring an army of Mahrattas to his aid. Jaffer was not willing to oppose directly an opinion of Olive and offered to accept his mediation reserving in his mind the use of every clandestine effort to accomplish his own designs. The army began its march to Patna and was joined by Ramnarain, after receipt of a letter by Olive, assuring him, that both his person and government should be safe. The intended delays and machinations of the Nabob were cut short, by intelligence that the Subahdar of Oude, with the French party under M. Law and a great body of Mahratta horse, was about to invade the province and by the actual arrival of a Mahratta chief, who came in the name of the principal Mahratta commanders to demand the arrears of chout, amounting to twenty-four lacks of rupees, which were due from Bengal. These events produced a speedy accommodation with Ramnarain. The Nabob, indeed, used various efforts to remain behind the English, in order to defeat the securities which that Governor had obtained. But Olive penetrated, and disappointed his designs. He even extorted from him another grant, of no small importance to the English treasury. A leading article in the European traffic was the salt-petre produced in Bengal, the whole of which was made in the country on the other side of the Ganges above Patna. This manufacture had in general been farmed for the benefit of the Government and Olive saw the advantage of obtaining the monopoly for the English. He offered the highest terms which the government had ever received but the Nabob knew he could not demand from the English the regular presents which he would derive from a renter placed at his mercy; he was not, therefore, inclined, to the arrangement; but, after a variety of objections, the necessity of his circumstances compelled him to comply.

Olive got back to Moorsshedabad on the 16th of May; and, on the same day received intelligence from the coast of Coromandel of the arrival of the French fleet, and of the indecisive first engagement between it and the English. A friend to the use which governments commonly make of their intelligence of the events of war, "Olive spread,"

says Orme, "the news he received, as a complete naval victory, two of the French ships sunk in the fight, instead of one stranded afterwards by a mischance, the rest put to flight, with no likelihood of being able to land the troops which they had brought from Pondicherry"

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On the 24th, Clive departed from Moorshedabad without waiting for the Nabob. On the 20th of June, a ship arrived at Calcutta from England, and brought along with it a commission for new modelling the government. A council was nominated consisting of ten, and, instead of one Governor, as in preceding arrangements, four were appointed, not to preside collectively, but each during three months in rotation. The inconvenience of this scheme of government was easily perceived. "But there was another cause," says Mr Orme, "which operated on opinions more strongly. Colonel Clive had felt and expressed resentment at the neglect of himself in the Company's orders, for no station was marked for him in the new establishment." Convinced that he alone had sufficient authority to over-awe the Nabob into the performance of his obligations, the council, including the four gentlemen who were appointed the governors, came to a resolution, highly expressive of their own disinterestedness and patriotism, but full of disregard and contempt for the judgment and authority of their superiors.¹ This high legislative act of the Company they took upon them to set aside, and, with one accord, invited Clive to accept the undivided office of President. With this invitation he assures us, that "he hesitated not one moment to comply."²

¹ Mr Scrafton (Reflections on the Government, &c of Indostan, p 115) says, "At this crisis, when military virtue and unanimity were more immediately necessary, the Directors, divided by violent contests among themselves, which certainly did them no honour, were so unfortunate in their judgment, as to appoint four Governors of Bengal, to govern each four months, and left Colonel Clive entirely out of this list. The absurdity of such a system was too apparent to take place," &c — M

There was no display of disregard or contempt, however for their superiors. The council, in writing to Clive, express their belief "that had their employers been apprized of the present state of affairs in Bengal, they would have placed the presidency in some one person, as the clearest and easiest method of conducting their concerns." And that they had rightly judged, appeared from the event, for as soon as the Directors heard of the battle of Plassy, they appointed Clive to the station of Governor. Life, i 352 — W

² Report, ut supra. The influence of the Colonel is depicted by the following anecdote. There was an officer of rank, to whom Jaffier had been often indebted before his elevation, remarkable for his wit. Thus, from their former intimacy, and a jealousy of pre-ent neglect, he did not spare on the Nabob himself. While the armies of the Nabob and of Clive were at Patna, he was

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In the mean time considerable events were preparing at Moorahedabad. On the approach of Clive and Dooloob Ram, Meeran had thrown the city into violent agitation; by quitting it with demonstrations of fear summoning all the troops and artillery of the government, and giving it out as his intention to march for the purpose of joining his father. Clive wrote with much sharpness to the Nabob and Meeran apologized in the most submissive strain. Though inability to discharge the arrears due to the troops, who could with much difficulty be preserved from tumults, compelled the Nabob to delay his proceedings, he was impatient for the destruction of Dooloob Ram the severity of his despotism increased and he declared to one of his favorites, who betrayed him, that if a French force would come into the province he would assist them, unless the English released him from all their claims of money territory and exemptions. Among the Hindus, who had risen to high employment under the encouraging policy of the late Subahdars, was Nunoomar, who acted as Governor of Hoogly at the time of Suraj-ad dowlas march against Calcutta. Nunoomar had followed the armies to Patna, and, as conversant with the details of the revenue, was employed by Dooloob Ram. When the difficulties of obtaining payment upon the tuncaws granted to the English began to be felt, he proffered his assistance and, if supported by the government of the Nabob, assured the English, that he would realize the sums. He was vested with such authority as the service appeared to require but as he expected not to elude the knowledge of Dooloob Ram, in the practices which he meditated, for raising out of his employment a fortune to himself, he resolved to second the designs of the Nabob for the removal

one day seemed to the Nabob of having permitted a fray between some of his own soldiers and some of Clive's. It chanced, say the authors of the *Beet Metakharera*, II. 19, that Mirza Shermeddin himself made his appearance at that very moment. He was in full armor and in the hall of audience. The Nawab fixed his eyes upon him, and spoke few words that seemed to border upon reprimand. "sir said he, your people have had a fray with the English's people. Is your honour to learn he is that Colonel Clive and in what station heaven has seated him?" My Lord Nawab, answered the Mirza, getting up instantly and standing bolt-upright before him. "No, to quarrel with the Colonel! no! who never get up in the morning, without making three profound bows to his very jackass! How then could I be daring enough, after that, to fall out with the ruler himself!"

of that vigilant Dewan He persuaded the Sets to with-
draw their protection from this troublesome inspector, by
awakening their fears of being called upon for money, if
Dooloob Ram withheld the revenues, and supplied not the
exigencies of the state He assured the Nabob and Meeran, that the English would cease to interfere in their government if the money was regularly paid Dooloob Ram took the alarm, and requested leave to retire to Calcutta, with his family and effects Permission was refused, till he should find a sum of money sufficient to satisfy the troops Under profession of a design to visit Colonel Clive at Calcutta, the Nabob quitted the capital, but under pretence of hunting, remained in its neighbourhood On the second day after his departure, Meeran incited a body of the troops to repair to the residence of Dooloob Ram, and to clamour tumultuously for their pay The English agent interfered, but as the troops were directed by Meeran to make sure of Dooloob Ram, the agent found great difficulty in preserving his life Clive at last desired that he should be allowed, with his family, to repair to Calcutta, and the consent of the Nabob was no longer withheld.

Within a few days after the return of the Nabob from Calcutta, a tumult was excited in his capital by the soldiers of one of the chiefs, and assumed the appearance of being aimed at the Nabob's life A letter was produced, which bore the character of a letter from Dooloob Ram to the commander of the disorderly troops, inciting him to the enterprise, and assuring him that the concurrence of Clive, and other leading Englishmen, was obtained. Clive suspected that the letter was a forgery of Jaffier and Meeran, to ruin Dooloob Ram in the opinion of the English, and procure his expulsion from Calcutta, when his person and wealth would remain in their power All doubts might be resolved by the interrogation and confrontation of the commander, to whom the letter was said to be addressed. But he was ordered by the Nabob to quit his service, was way-laid on his departure, and assassinated.

In the mean time advices had arrived from the Presidency at Madras, that Fort St David had yielded, that a second engagement had taken place between the fleets, that the French army was before Tanjore, that M Bussy

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was on his march to join Lally and the most earnest solicitations were subjoined, that as large a portion of the troops as possible might be sent, to afford a chance of averting the ruin of the national affairs in the Carnatic "No one," says Orme, "doubted that Madras would be besieged as soon as the monsoon had sent the squadrons off the coast, if reinforcements should not arrive before. Clive chose to remain in Bengal, where he was master rather than go to Madras, where he would be under command and determined not to lessen his power by sending troops to Madras, which the Presidency copying his example, might forget to send back. An enterprise, at the same time, presented itself, which, though its success would have been vain, had the French in the Carnatic prevailed, bore the appearance of a co-operation in the struggle, and afforded a colour for detaining the troops.

One of the leading Polygars in the Northern Circars, fixing his eye upon the advantages which he might expect to derive from giving a new master to the provinces, communicated to the English in Bengal his desires to co-operate with them in driving out the French, while Bussy was involved in a struggle with the brothers of the Subahdar. The brilliancy of the exploit had no feeble attractions for the imagination of Clive and after the recall of Bussy to Pondicherry he imparted his intentions to the Council. The project met with unanimous condemnation. But Clive, disregarding all opposition, prepared his armament. It consisted of 600 Europeans, 2000 Sepoys, and 100 *Lascars*, with six field-pieces, six battering cannon, one howitzer and one eight-inch mortar. This expedition, commanded by Colonel Forde, was destined to proceed by sea but the alterations in the council, which the disapprobation of the measure produced, and the delays which occurred in the equipment of the ships, retarded its departure till the end of September.

Orme says (II. 343), Clive did not entertain serious fears that it would be taken whilst it had provisions. But Clive himself says (Report, *ut supra*).

Nothing saved Madras from also buying the fate of Fort St. David, but their [the French] want of money which gave time for strengthening and reinforcing the place.

Orme only says (II. 344), The measure was too vigorous to be accepted able to all the members of the council. But Clive himself says (Report, *ut supra*), that he undertook it, contrary to the inclination of his whole council.

Orme, II. 308—357 and 303—363; See Matalahere, II. 4—34.

On the 20th of October Colonel Forde disembarked at Vizagapatam, and joined his troops with those of the Raja Anunderauz, at whose instigation the exploit was undertaken. It was expected, that this chief would afford money for the maintenance of the troops, and hence but a small supply of that necessary article was brought from Bengal. The Raja was in the usual state of Rajas, Nabobs, Subahdars, and Emperors in India, he was reputed by the English immensely rich, while in reality he was miserably poor: he was, therefore, not very able to provide the sums expected from him, and still less willing. The delays by which he contrived to elude the importunities of the English were highly provoking, and by retarding their movements, threatened to deprive them of all the great advantages of rapidity and surprise. A sort of treaty was at last concluded by which it was agreed that, excepting the seaports, and towns at the mouths of the rivers, the conquered country should all be given up to Anunderauz, upon the condition of his advancing a certain monthly sum for the maintenance of the troops.

M. Conflans, who had been sent to command the French troops upon the recall of Bussy, had concentrated his forces about Rajamundri, towards which the English and the Raja directed their march. The force, which remained under the command of Conflans, after the departure of the troops which were recalled with Bussy, was still considerably superior to that which had arrived with the English, but when the troops for other services were deducted, he took the field against the English with numbers nearly equal. A battle was brought on, and the French were completely defeated, they were not only stripped of their camp, but fled from Rajamundri.

During the battle, the Raja and his troops remained cowering in the hollow of a dry tank, which protected them from shot. After the battle all his operations were tardy, what was worse, no money could be extracted from him, all the cash which had been brought from Bengal was expended, and during fifty days, when advantage might have been taken of the want of preparation on the part of the enemy, and of the dejection arising from their defeat, the English were unable to move. At last, by a new arrangement, a small sum was obtained from the Raja,

BOOK IV the troops were put in motion, and on the 6th of February
 CHAP V arrived at Ellore or Yalore, where they were joined by the
 Zemindar or chief of the district.

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Confians had no longer confidence to meet the English in the field, but withdrew to defend himself in Masulipatam, the principal fort, and principal station of the French, on that part of the coast while he urged the Subahdar of the Deccan to march to the defence of his own territories, the French being occupants under his authority and subject to his law while the English intended to wrest the country wholly from his hands. The views of the courtiers of the Subahdar happened at the moment to coincide with his own wishes to preserve for himself the protection of the French, and he put his army in motion towards Masulipatam.

This prevented not the English commander from hastening to attack the place. He arrived on the 6th of March. The French treated his pretensions with ridicule. Masulipatam, for an Indian town, and against Indian means of attack, was of no inconsiderable strength. The defenders within were more numerous than the besiegers. A considerable army of observation was left in the field. The Subahdar with the grand army of the Deccan, was on the march and a reinforcement of Europeans was expected from Pondicherry. A sum of money for the English had arrived from Bengal but the French army of observation rendered it dangerous, or rather impracticable, to send it to the camp. The English troops mutinied for want of pay and it was with much difficulty and by large promises, that they were induced to resume the discharge of their duty.

Three batteries continued a hot fire on three different parts of the town, without having effected any considerable damage, from the 25th of March to the 6th of April, when the situation of the English began to wear a very threatening aspect. Salabut Jung was approaching the French army of observation had retaken Rajamundri, and might effect a junction with the Subahdar it was impossible for the English now to retreat by the way which they had come, or even to embark at Masulipatam with their cannon and heavy stores the monsoon had begun; the reinforcement from Pondicherry was expected; and to

crown all, the engineers reported that no more than two days' ammunition for the batteries remained unconsumed. In these circumstances, however apparently desperate, Colonel Forde resolved to try the chance of an assault. The batteries were directed to play with the utmost activity during the whole of the day, and the troops to be under arms at ten at night. The attack, in order to divide the attention of the enemy, and render uncertain the point of danger, was to be in three places at once, and the three divisions of the army were to be on their respective grounds exactly at midnight. The struggle was expected to be severe, from the superior numbers of the enemy, and the little damage which the works had sustained. A part of the army faltered considerably, nor did all the officers meet the danger with perfect composure. They got, however, within the walls with comparative ease, where, being met by superior forces, they might have paid dear for their temerity, had not surprise aided their arms, and had not M. Confians confounded by uncertainty, and by various and exaggerated reports, after a short resistance, surrendered the place.

Within one week two ships appeared with a reinforcement of 300 troops from Pondicherry. The Subahdar, whose arrival had been anticipated but a very few days by the fall of Masulipatam, found himself in circumstances ill calculated to carry on by himself a war against the English. He was anxious on the other hand, being now deprived of the French, to cultivate a friendship with the English, and to obtain from them a body of troops, to protect him against the dangerous ambition of his brother Nizam Ali, who, since the departure of Bussy, had returned at the head of a considerable body of troops, and filled him with serious alarm. Colonel Forde repaired to his camp, where he was received with great distinction, and concluded a treaty, by which a considerable territory about Masulipatam was ceded to the English, and the Subahdar engaged to allow no French settlement for the future to exist in his dominions. The French army of observation, which it was by the same treaty stipulated, should cross the Kistna in fifteen days, joined the army of Bassalut Jung, the elder brother of the Subahdar, who had accompanied him on the expedition to the Northern Circars,

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and now marched away to the south. The two ships which had brought the reinforcement from Pondicherry upon discovering the loss of Masulipatam, sailed away to the north, and landed the troops at Ganjam. They made several efforts to render some useful service, but entirely fruitless and after enduring a variety of privations, returned greatly reduced in numbers to Pondicherry.

While the detachment from the army of Bengal was engaged in these operations, the solicitude of Clive was attracted by an enemy of high pretensions in a different quarter. Toward the close of the history of the Mogul Emperors, it appeared, that the eldest son of the Emperor Aulungeer II., not daring to trust himself in the hands of the Vizir the daring Umad al Mulk, by whom the emperor was held in a state of wretched servitude, had withdrawn into the district of Nujeeb ad Dowla, the Rohilla, who was an opponent of the Vizir and a partisan of the Imperial family. At this time, the revolution effected by the English in Bengal, the unpopularity and disorders of Jaffier's administration, and the presumed weakness of his government, excited hopes in the neighbouring chiefs, that an invasion of his territories might be turned to advantage. The imagination of Mohammed Koollee Khan, the Subahdar of Allahabad, was the most highly elevated by the prospect of sharing in the spoils of the English Nabob. He was instigated by two powerful Zemindars, the Rajas, Sunder Sing, and Bulwant Sing. And the Nabob of Oude, his near kinsman, one of the most powerful chiefs in Hindustan, joined with apparent ardour in the design. The Nabob of Oude entertained a double purpose; that of obtaining, if any thing was to be seized, as great a share as possible of Bahar or Bengal; and that of watching his opportunity while his ally and kinsman was intent upon his expected acquisitions, to seize by force or stratagem the fort of Allahabad. The influence of the imperial name appeared to them of no small importance in the war with Jaffier and as the prince, who had fled into Rohilcound, was soliciting them for protection, it was agreed to place him ostensibly at the head of the enterprise. Preparations were made and the Prince, having obtained from the Emperor legal investiture, as Subahdar of Bengal,

Bahar, and Orissa, crossed the Carumnassa, a river which bounds the province of Bahar, towards the conclusion of the year 1758 From the exhaustion of the treasury when Jaffier was raised to the government, the great sums which he had paid to the English, the difficulty of extracting money from the people, his own negligent and wasteful administration, and the cruel and brutal character of his son Meeran, Jaffier was ill-prepared to meet a formidable invasion From his own rabble of ill-paid and mutinous soldiers, he was obliged to turn, and place all his hopes of safety in the bravery and skill of the English, whom, before the news of this impending danger, he had been plotting to expel The English appear to have had no foresight of such an event By the absence of the troops in the Northern Circars, their force was so inconsiderable, and both they and Jaffier needed so much time to prepare, that had the invaders proceeded with tolerable expedition and skill, they might have gained, without difficulty, the whole province of Bahar A blow like this, at so critical a period, would have shaken to such a degree the tottering government of Jaffier, that the incipient power of the English might have despaired of restoring it, and a momentary splendour might again have surrounded the throne of the Moguls

The march of the Prince and his confederates towards Patna placed Ramnaram the Governor between two dreadful fires To Jaffier he neither felt, nor owed attachment But, joining the prince, he risked every thing, if Jaffier should succeed, adhering to Jaffier, he risked as much, if the prince should succeed. The situation was calculated to exercise Hindu duplicity and address An application to Mr Amyatt, the chief of the English factory, was the first of his steps, from whom as he could receive no protection, he expected such latitude of advice, as would afford a colour to any measures he might find it agreeable to pursue It happened as he foresaw Mr Amyatt informing him that the English would remain at Patna, if assistance should arrive, if not, would retire from the danger, frankly and sincerely instructed him, to amuse the prince as long as possible, but if all hopes of succour should fail, to provide for himself as events might direct Ramnaram studied to conduct himself in such a manner as to be able

to join with the greatest advantage the party for whom fortune should declare. He wrote to Bengal importuning for succour and he at the same privately sent a messenger to propitiate the Prince. He was even induced, when the English of the factory had retired down the river to pay him a visit in his camp and the troops of the Prince might have entered Patna along with him. The opportunity however was lost and the observations which the Hindu made upon the Prince's camp and upon the councils which guided him, induced him to shut the gates of the city when he returned, and to prepare for defence.

The hardihood of Clive was seldom overcome by scruples. Yet the Emperor Aulumgeer was legitimate sovereign of Bengal and had undoubted right to appoint his eldest son to be his deputy in the government of that province. To oppose him, was undisguised rebellion. The English forces, a slender band, marched to Moorshedabad, and being joined by the best part of Jaffier's troops, commanded by Meeran, they advanced towards Patna where Ramnarain had amused the prince by messages and overtures as long as possible, and afterwards opposed him. Though the attack was miserably conducted, a breach was made, and the courage and resources of Ramnarain would have been soon exhausted when intelligence reached the camp, that the Subahdar of Oude, who was on his march with an army under pretence of joining the prince, had treacherously seized the fortress of Allahabad. Mohammed Koollee Khan, by whom the prince's affairs were conducted, and whose forces were his

The prince, Halwell assures us (*Memorial*, p. 5), repeatedly offered to grant the English their own terms, if they would assist him in recovering his rights. On what side justice lay is evident enough. On what side policy whether on that which Clive rejected, or that which he chose, is more subtle inquiry.—M.

It was not question of policy but one of good faith. By the treaty with Mir Jaffier as well as by the nature of their connexion with him,—the English were pledged to assist him against all enemies whatever and few of the Governors of the Provinces would have scrupled to consider the Emperor as an enemy if he had sought to dispossess them of their Subahs. Even, however if the theory of obediences to monarch, who at the very seat of Empire are no longer his own master could be urged with any show of reason it would not be applicable in the present instance, for the Subah-nada was not appointed by the Emperor to be his deputy in Bengal, and as Clive pleaded to the Prince himself, no communication of his movements or purposes had been made from Delhi. On the contrary the Prince was there treated as—relative to his father. He could not plead, therefore, the Emperor's authority for his invasion, and no other pretext could have afforded him the semblance even of right. *Life of Clive* i. 406.—W

entire support, resolved to march immediately for the recovery or protection of his own dominions, and though he was joined at four miles' distance from the city by M Law, who had hastened from Chutteipore with his handful of Frenchmen, and importuned him to return to Patna, of which he engaged to put him in possession in two days, the infatuated Nabob continued his march, and being persuaded by the Subahdar of Oude to throw himself upon his generosity, was first made a prisoner, and afterwards put to death

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When Clive and Meeran approached, the enemy had already departed from Patna, and the unhappy prince, the descendant of so many illustrious sovereigns, the legal Subahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and the undoubted heir of the throne, once among the loftiest of the globe, was so bereft of friends and resources, that he was induced to write a letter to Clive, requesting a sum of money for his subsistence, and offering in requital to withdraw from the province. Upon these easy terms was Clive, by his good fortune, enabled to extricate himself from a situation of considerable difficulty. Ramnarain obtained, or it was convenient to grant him, credit for fidelity, the Zemindars who had joined the prince hastened to make their peace, and Clive returned to Calcutta in the month of June¹

This was a fortunate expedition for Clive. So unbounded was the gratitude of Jaffier, that after obtaining for his defender the rank of an Omrah of the empire, he bestowed upon him, under the title of Jaghire, the whole of the revenue or rent which the Company in quality of Zemindar, were bound to pay for the territory which they held round Calcutta. The grant amounted to the enormous sum of 30,000*l* per annum. "Clive's Jaghire" is an expression of frequent recurrence, and of considerable weight in the History of India.

The Shazada (such was the title by which the eldest son of the Mogul was then distinguished in Bengal) was thus fortunately repulsed, and Colonel Forde with his troops was no less fortunately returned from the south,

¹ Scott's History of Bengal, p. 379—391, Seer Mintakhareen, vol. ii. part ii. p. 42—49, Francklin's Shah Aulum, p. 8—11, First Report of the Select Committee in 1772, Holwell's Memorial, p. 2—M.

To these may be added Life of Clive, in which Ramnarain's conduct is very differently represented, i. 410—W.

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The hardihood of Clive was seldom overcome by scruples. Yet the Emperor Aulumgeer was legitimate sovereign of Bengal and had undoubted right to appoint his eldest son to be his deputy in the government of that province. To oppose him, was undisguised rebellion. The English forces, a slender band, marched to Moorshedabad, and being joined by the best part of Jaffier's troops, commanded by Meeran, they advanced towards Patna where Ramnarain had amused the prince by messages and overtures as long as possible, and afterwards opposed him. Though the attack was miserably conducted, a breach was made, and the courage and resources of Ramnarain would have been soon exhausted when intelligence reached the camp, that the Subahdar of Oude, who was on his march with an army under pretence of joining the prince, had treacherously seized the fortress of Allahabad. Mohammed Koollee Khan, by whom the prince's affairs were conducted, and whose forces were his

The prince, Havelock assures us (*Mansorial*, p. 5), repeatedly offered to grant the English their own terms, if they would assist him in recovering his rights. On what side justice lay is evident enough. On what side policy whether on that which Clive rejected, or that which he chose, is more subtle inquiry.—M.

It was not question of policy but one of good faith. By the treaty with Mir Jaffier as well as by the nature of their connexion it's him,—the English were pledged to assist him against all enemies whatever and few of the Governors of the Provinces would have scrupled to consider the Emperor as an enemy if he had sought to dispossess them of their Subahs. Even, however if the theory of obedience to monarch, who at the very seat of Empire was no longer his own master could be urged with any show of reason, it would not be applicable in the present instance, for the Subah-ade was not appointed by the Emperor to be his deputy in Bengal, and as Clive pleaded to the Prince himself, no communication of his movements or purposes had been made from Delhi. On the contrary the Prince was there treated as rebel to his father. He could not plead, therefore, the Emperor's authority for his treason, and no other pretext could have afforded him the semblance even of right. *Life of Clive*, I. 406.—W

entire support, resolved to march immediately for the recovery or protection of his own dominions, and though he was joined at four miles' distance from the city by M Law, who had hastened from Chutterpore with his handful of Frenchmen, and importuned him to return to Patna, of which he engaged to put him in possession in two days, the infatuated Nabob continued his march, and being persuaded by the Subahdar of Oude to throw himself upon his generosity, was first made a prisoner, and afterwards put to death.

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When Clive and Meeran approached, the enemy had already departed from Patna, and the unhappy prince, the descendant of so many illustrious sovereigns, the legal Subahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and the undoubted heir of the throne, once among the loftiest of the globe, was so bereft of friends and resources, that he was induced to write a letter to Clive, requesting a sum of money for his subsistence, and offering in requital to withdraw from the province. Upon these easy terms was Clive, by his good fortune, enabled to extricate himself from a situation of considerable difficulty. Ramnarain obtained, or it was convenient to grant him, credit for fidelity, the Zemindars who had joined the prince hastened to make their peace, and Clive returned to Calcutta in the month of June¹.

This was a fortunate expedition for Clive. So unbounded was the gratitude of Jaffier, that after obtaining for his defender the rank of an Omrah of the empire, he bestowed upon him, under the title of Jaghire, the whole of the revenue or rent which the Company in quality of Zemindar, were bound to pay for the territory which they held round Calcutta. The grant amounted to the enormous sum of 30,000*l* per annum. "Clive's Jaghire" is an expression of frequent recurrence, and of considerable weight in the History of India.

The Shazada (such was the title by which the eldest son of the Mogul was then distinguished in Bengal) was thus fortunately repulsed, and Colonel Forde with his troops was no less fortunately returned from the south,

¹ Scott's History of Bengal, p. 379—391, Seer Mutakhareen, vol. ii. part ii. p. 42—89, Francklin's Shah Aulum, p. 8—11, First Report of the Select Committee in 1772, Holwell's Memorial, p. 2—M.

To these may be added Life of Clive, in which Ramnarain's conduct is very differently represented, i. 410—W.

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when the English were alarmed by the news of a great armament, fitted out by the Dutch at Batavia, and destined for Bengal. The Dutch were not then at war with England, and being excited to cupidity by the lofty reports of the rich harvest lately reaped by the English in Bengal, possibly aimed at no more than a share of the same advantages, or to balance before its irresistible ascendancy the increasing power of their rivals. They had received encouragement from Jaffier but that ruler since the invasion of the Mogul prince, felt so powerfully his dependence on the English, that when called upon by the English for the use of his authority and power he durst not decline. In the month of August a Dutch ship arrived in the river filled with troops and this was speedily followed by six more, the whole having on board 700 Europeans, and 800 Malays. To attack without provocation the ships or troops of a nation in friendship with this country was not regarded by Clive as less than a hazardous step. The advantages, however of standing without a rival in Bengal, outweighed his apprehensions he obtained an order of the Subahdar commanding the Dutch to leave the river and, under pretence of seconding his authority resolved upon hostilities. The seven ships ascended the river as far as a few miles below Calcutta, and landed their troops, which were thence to march to the Dutch factory at Chinsura. Clive detached Colonel Forde with a force, consisting of 300 Europeans, 800 Sepoys, and about 160 of Jaffier's Cavalry to intercept them and at the same time commanded three of the Company's ships, fitted out and manned for the purpose, to attack the Dutch East Indiamen. Colonel Forde by the dexterity and success of his exploit, converted it into one of the most brilliant incidents of the war; and of the 700 Europeans, not above fourteen were enabled to reach Chinsura, the rest being either taken prisoners, or slain. The attack upon the ships was equally successful after an engagement of two hours, six of them were taken, and the seventh was intercepted by two English ships which lay further down the river. After this heavy blow the Dutch, to prevent their total expulsion from Bengal, were contented to put themselves in the wrong, by paying the expenses of the war and the irregularity of his inter-

ference made Clive well pleased to close the dispute, by restoring to the Dutch their ships, with all the treasure and effects. The agreement with the Dutch was ratified on the 5th of December, and Clive, who for some months had been meditating return with his fortune to Europe, resigned the government early in February, and sailed from Calcutta¹

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He left not the country in peace. Meeran, before he departed from Patna, the preceding year, had sown the seeds of a future war. He treated with injustice some officers of considerable rank and influence, and no sooner was he gone, than a confederacy was formed between them and some neighbouring Zemindars to support the Shazada in a fresh invasion. Intelligence of their designs had reached Calcutta before the contest with the Dutch was decided. And the Nabob of Poorania, whom Meeran had already endeavoured to cut off by treachery, had taken the field, and was expected to join the Mogul prince.

Colonel Callaud had been called from the Carnatic to take the command of the forces in Bengal, when Clive and Forde, who meditated simultaneous departure, should sail for Europe. He arrived with a reinforcement of troops towards the end of November, and it was necessary that he should proceed to stop the menaced invasion without a moment's delay. He left Calcutta with a detachment of 300 Europeans, 1000 Sepoys, and fifty artillery-men, with six pieces of cannon, and arrived at Moorshedabad on the 26th of December. He was joined by Clive on the 6th of January, who, having made his arrangements with the Subahdar, or Nabob, set out after a week for Calcutta. Callaud, being joined by 15,000 horse and foot, and twenty-five pieces of cannon, of the Nabob, under command of Meeran, resumed his march on the 18th.

In the meantime, the Mahrattas, who had been incited by the Vizir, Umad al mulk, to invade the provinces of Oude and Rohilcund, had been defeated and obliged to fly, while the powerful King of the Abdallees was again

¹ First Report from the Select Committee in 1772, Holwell's Memorial Callaud's Narrative. The author of the *Seer Mutakhareen* wonders greatly what could be the reason of Clive's quitting the government, a sentiment very natural to him, who well understood the pleasures of governing; but could not so easily conceive the passion of an Englishman to see lodged a princely fortune in his own country.

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on his march for the invasion of Hindustan. Excited by the approach of formidable danger, the Vizir in a fit of exasperation or despair ordered the murder of the Emperor the wretched Aulumgeer and the news of this tragical event reached the Shazada, just as he had passed the Carumnassa into the province of Bahar. He was advised to assume immediately the state and title of Emperor to confer the office of Vizir upon Shuja-ad-dowla, the Nabob of Oude, and to confirm Nujeeb-ad-dowla in the office of Ameer ul Omrah. The majesty of the imperial throne, and his undoubted title, had an influence still upon the minds of men. It was now clear and immediate rebellion to resist him and whatever guilt could be involved in making war upon their rightful sovereign, must be incurred by those who carried arms against him. The English had already familiarized themselves with the idea of rebellion in India; and the consideration of legitimate sovereignty though the sovereign would have purchased their protection by unlimited grants, appears not to have excited a scruple in a single breast. The new dignity however of Vizir called upon the Nabob of Oude for some exertions in favour of his sovereign and the fascination of the imperial title was still of force to collect around him a considerable army.

The march of the English was retarded by the necessity of settling terms with the Nabob of Poorania, who had encamped on the left bank of the river between Moorshedabad and Patna, and professed a desire of remaining obedient to Jaffier provided the English would engage for his security. This negotiation wasted seven days and in the meantime the Emperor advanced towards Patna. Ramnaram, whom the sagacity of Aliverdi had selected to be deputy Governor of Bahar on account of his skill in matters of finance, was destitute of military talents and considering his situation, under the known hatred of Jaffier as exceedingly precarious, he was unwilling to lay out any of the wealth he had acquired, in providing for the defence of the country. He was still enabled to draw forth a respectable army reinforced by seventy Europeans and a battalion of English sepoys, commanded by Lieu-

It is stated at \$0,000 men by Calhoun (*Narrative of what happened in Bengal in 1760*, p. 7); but this we conceive is an exaggerated conjecture.

tenant Cochrane, and he encamped under the walls, with a view to cover the city. He had received by letter the strongest injunctions from Calliaud, on no account to hazard a battle till Meeran and he should arrive. An action, however, took place, the army of Ramnarain was attacked with impetuosity, some of his officers behaved with treachery, his troops were giving way on all sides, and he himself was dangerously pressed, when he sent an importunate request to the English for immediate assistance. The Lieutenant had advised him at the beginning of the action to place himself, for the security of his person, near the English battalion, an advice with which his vanity did not permit him to comply. That officer marched to his relief without a moment's delay, but he imprudently divided his handful of troops, they were unable to withstand the force of numbers. All the European officers of the Sepoys fell, when the Sepoys dispersed and were cut to pieces. The English, who remained alive, resolved to fight their way to the city, and such was the awe and terror which the sight of their courage inspired, that the enemy, not daring to resist, opened instantly to the right and left, and allowed them to retire.¹

Had the troops of the Emperor pushed on with vigour, immediately after this victory, when Ramnarain was

¹ The remarks of the Mogul nobleman, who was in Patna at the moment of the action, are amusing at least. "What remained of their people," he says, "was rallied by Doctor William Fullerton, a friend of mine, and possibly by some English officers whose names I know not, who ranged them in order again, and as one of their guns was to be left on the field of battle, they found means to render it useless and of no avail, by thrusting a large needle of iron into its eye. The other being in good condition, they took it with them, together with its ammunition, and that handful of men had the courage to retire in the face of a victorious enemy without once shrinking from their ranks. During their journey, the cart of ammunition chanced to receive some damage, the Doctor stopped unconcernedly, and after having put it in order, he bravely pursued his route again, and it must be acknowledged, that this nation's presence of mind, firmness of temper, and undaunted bravery, are past all question. They join the most resolute courage to the most cautious prudence, nor have they their equals in the art of ranging themselves in battle array, and fighting in order. If to so many military qualifications they knew how to join the arts of government, if they showed a concern for the circumstances of the husbandman and the gentleman, and exerted as much ingenuity and solicitude in relieving and easing the people of God, as they do in whatever concerns their military affairs, no nation in the world would be preferable to them, or prove worthier of command. But such is the little regard which they show to the people of these kingdoms, and such their apathy and indifference for their welfare, that the people under their dominion groan everywhere, and are reduced to poverty and distress. Oh God! come to the assistance of thine afflicted servants, and deliver them from the oppressions they suffer." Seer Mutakhareen, li 101

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severely wounded, his army panic-struck and dispersed, and the city without defenders, they might have taken Patna with the greatest ease. But they employed themselves in ravaging the open country and in receiving messengers and overtures from Ramnarain till the 19th of February when they learned that Meeran and the English were distant from them but twenty-eight miles. The resolution was taken to march and engage them the next day the two armies approached. Colonel Calliaud urged immediate attack but Meeran and his astrologers found that the stars would not be favourable before the 22nd. Early on the morning of that day Calliaud was in motion but before he could reach the enemy the day was so far spent, by the insufferable delays, as he himself complains, of Meeran's march," that, wishing to have time before him, he was unwilling to engage till the following morning. The enemy however advanced, and Calliaud drew up his men between two villages which covered both his flanks, advising Meeran to form a second line, the whole of which, except the two wings, would have been covered by the English and the villages. But though this was agreed upon, he crowded his army upon the right, and, in spite of the most pressing and repeated solicitations presented to battle a body of 15,000 men, with a front of scarcely 200 yards in a tumultuous unformed heap." With a feigned appearance of directing the main attack upon the English, the enemy advanced with the best part of their army against Meeran, who in about ten minutes began to give way. Colonel Calliaud, however marched with a battalion of Sepoys to his aid, and immediately decided the fate of the day. The Sepoys drew up within forty yards upon the enemy's flank, and having poured in a couple of fires, advanced with the bayonet, when the enemy recoiled upon one another and fell into confusion, and, being charged with Meeran's cavalry dispersed and fled. Calliaud was eager to pursue, but Meeran, who had received a trifling wound in the battle, preferred an interval of ease and pleasure at Patna. He would not even permit the service to be performed without him and though Calliaud offered to proceed with his own troops alone, if only a few horses, which he earnestly entreated, were granted him, he found all he could urge without avail.

The Emperor fled the same night to Bihar, a town about ten miles from the field of battle. Here a measure of great promise suggested itself to leave Meeran and the English behind and, marching with the utmost expedition to Bengal, surprise Moorshedabad, and take the Nabob prisoner. It was the 29th of the month before Meeran could be prevailed upon to abandon the indulgences of Patna, when he and the English marched towards Bihar, and were surprised to learn that the enemy had already performed two marches towards Bengal. The strongest motives pressed for despatch: the English embarked in boats, and along with Meeran's cavalry in three days overtook the foe, who adopted a bold and politic resolution. No longer able to proceed along the river, the Emperor directed his march across the mountains, and Callaud still resolved to follow his steps. The route was long and difficult, and it was near the end of March before the Emperor emerged on the plains of Bengal, about thirty miles west from Moorshedabad. During this interval, intelligence was in sufficient time received by Jaffer to enable him to collect an army and obtain a body of 200 Europeans from Calcutta: but the Emperor was joined by a body of Mahrattas, who had lately broken into that part of the country, and had he rapidly attacked the Nabob, he still enjoyed, in the opinion of Callaud, the fairest prospect of success. But he lingered till Meeran and the English joined the Nabob on the 4th of April, and on the 7th, when they advanced to attack him, he set fire to his camp and fled. Callaud again urged for cavalry to pursue, and again was absolutely refused.

One object of hope was even yet reserved to the Emperor. By the precipitation with which his pursuers had followed him, Patna was left in a miserable state of defence. Could he return with expedition, and anticipate the arrival of succour, it must fall into his hands. At this very time M. Law, with his small body of Frenchmen, passing that capital, to join the Emperor, who had again invited him from Chatterpore, threw it into the greatest alarm. It was almost entirely destitute of the means of defence, but Law was ignorant of its situation, and proceeded to Bahar, to wait for the Emperor. At this time the Naib of Poorania took off the mask, espousing openly the cause of the

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and had he seized the present opportunity of marching to Patna, nothing could have prevented it from falling into his hands. The exertions, however, of Ram-narain, and of the gentlemen of the English factory had collected, before the Emperor was able to arrive, a sufficient body of defenders to secure the city against the first impression and Colonel Callaud, who foresaw the danger formed a detachment of 200 chosen Europeans, and a battalion of Sepoys, of which he gave the command to Captain Knox, and commanded them to march with the utmost expedition to Patna. The Emperor had lost no time in commencing the siege and after several days of vigorous operation, during which Mr Fullerton, the English Surgeon, and Raja Shitabroy had distinguished themselves peculiarly within the walls, Law attempted an assault. Though repulsed, he, in two days, renewed the attempt; and, part of the wall being demolished, the rampart was scaled. The enemy were still compelled to retire; but the city was now thrown into the greatest alarm a renewed assault was expected the following night; and scarcely a hope was entertained of its being withstood when Captain Knox, with a flying party was seen approaching the walls. He had performed the march from Moorahabad to Patna, under the burning heat of a Bengal sun, in the extraordinary space of thirteen days, himself marching on foot, as an example and encouragement to the men. That very night the Captain reconnoitred the enemy's camp in person and next day watching the hour of afternoon's repose, surprised them when asleep, and drove them from their works, to which they never returned.

While the Emperor conscious of his weakness, with drew to the neighbourhood of Teekaury waiting the result of his applications to the Abdallee Shah, who was now commanding, from the ancient seat of the Mogul government, the whole of the upper provinces of Hindustan, the Naisb or Deputy Governor of Poorania had collected his army and was on the march to join him. To counteract his designs, the English army under Callaud, and that of Jaffier under Meeran, rendezvoused at Raje-mahl, on the 23d of May. They moved upwards on the one side of the river the Naisb advancing on the other; and orders were

forwarded to Captain Knox to cross over from Patna, and harass his march till the main army should arrive, while his boats, which were not able to ascend the river so fast as he marched, were overtaken and seized. Captain Knox amazed the inhabitants of Patna by declaring his resolution, as soon as the enemy appeared, of crossing the river with his handful of men and giving them battle. Part of Ramnaran's troops were placed under his command, but as the enterprise appeared to them an act of madness, they formed a determined resolution to have no share in it. Raja Shitabroy having between two and three hundred men in his pay, with whom he had performed important services in the defence of Patna, joined the Captain with a real disposition to act. Two hundred Europeans, one battalion of Sepoys, five field-pieces, and about 300 horse, marched to engage an army of 12,000 men, with thirty pieces of cannon. Arrived within a few miles of the enemy, Knox proceeded in the dark to the quarters of Shitabroy, to communicate his design of surprising the enemy's camp during the night. He found that gallant associate fully prepared to second his ardour, the troops were allowed a few hours for repose, and a little after midnight they began to march. The guide having missed his way from the darkness of the night, they wandered till within two hours of day-break, and having lost the time for attacking the enemy by surprise, abandoned the design. They had laid down their arms, and prepared themselves for a little repose, when the vanguard of the enemy appeared. The gallantry of Knox allowed not a moment's hesitation. He took his ground with skill, and though completely surrounded by the enemy, repulsed them at every point, sustained a conflict of six hours, in which Shitabroy fought with the greatest activity and resolution, and having compelled them at last to quit the field, pursued them till night¹

¹ The author of the *Seer Mutakhareen*, who had a distant view of the battle from the walls of Patna, describes, with much effect, the alternation of hopes and fears which agitated the inhabitants, as the various reports of the battle reached the city, or the tokens which came to their eyes and their ears were variously interpreted. At last, he says, 'when the day was far spent, a note came to Mr. Amyatt from Captain Knox, which mentioned that the enemy was defeated and flying. This intelligence was sent to all the principal men of the city, and caused a deal of joy. I went to the factory to compliment the gentlemen, when in the dusk of the evening Captain Knox himself crossed over, and

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In consequence of this defeat, the Naib postponed his resolution of joining the Emperor and marched towards the north. In a few days Callaud and Meeran crossed the Ganges to pursue him, and, as his army was encumbered with baggage and artillery soon overtook him. He immediately formed his line, as if to engage but unloading the treasure, and the most valuable part of the baggage, putting it upon camels and elephants and skirmishing only till the English came up, he marched away with great expedition, leaving his heavy baggage and artillery behind. The rains were now set in with unusual violence, yet Callaud, animated by the reports of the rich treasure (the English were credulous on the subject of treasure) which the Naib carried in his train, resolved to make the utmost exertions to overtake him before he could reach the forests and mountains. The pursuit had been continued four days, when during the night of the 2nd of July which proved exceedingly tempestuous, the tent of Meeran was struck with lightning, and he, with all his attendants, was killed on the spot. The death of their leader is, to an Indian army the signal to disband. The probability of this event, which would deliver the province of Bahar into the hands of the Emperor struck the English commander with the utmost alarm. His whole attention was now occupied in keeping the army together till re-conducted to Patna, toward which he marched with

came with Outabroy in his company. They were both covered with dust and sweat. The Captain then gave some detail of the battle, and paid the greatest encomiums on Outabroy's zeal, activity and labour. He exclaimed several times, This is real Nawab I never saw such Nawab in my life. A few moments after Ramnarain was introduced. He had in his company both Mustapha Kafilah Khan, and the Cital of the city. With some other men of consequence, who, on hearing of the arrival of these two men, had flocked to the factory and on seeing them alone could not help believing that they had escaped from the slaughter; so far were they from conceiving that few hundreds of men could defeat whole army. Nor could they be made to believe (expressed as they were with Hindu notions) that a commander could quit his army so unconcernedly unless he had hadred run. y area is nor would listen to what Mr Anjant repeatedly said, to convince Ramnarain and others of their mistake. See *Mutahharas*, II. 132.

Callaud, on this occasion, too, complains heavily of Meeran. The young Mahab and his troops behaved in this skirmish in their usual manner, halting above half an hour per ever once made motion to sustain the English. Had he but acted on this occasion with the least appearance of spirit, and shewn even semblance of fighting, the affair must have proved decisive; nor could Oodiah Hassanah Khan or his treasure have escaped. Callaud's Narrative, p. 24.

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exhausted treasury an exhausted country and vast engagements to discharge, he was urged to the severest exactions while the profusion with which he wasted his treasure upon his own person, and some unworthy favourites, was ill calculated to soothe the wretched people, under the privations to which they were compelled. The cruelties of which he and Meeran were guilty made them objects of general detestation the negligence, disorder and weakness of their government, exposed them to contempt and their troops, always mutinous from the length of their arrears, threatened them every moment with fatal extremities. When the news arrived at Moorshedabad of the death of Meeran, the troops surrounded the palace, scaled the walls, and threatened the Nabob with instant death; nor were they in all probability prevented from executing their menaces, otherwise than by the interference of Meer Casim, his son-in-law who, on promise of succeeding to the place and prospects of Meeran, discharged a part of their arrears from his own treasury and induced them to accept of Jaffer's engagements to pay the whole within a limited time.

When Clive resigned the government of Bengal, instead of leaving the elevation to the chair in the established order of succession, his influence was successfully exerted to procure the nomination of Mr Vansittart, who was called from Madras. Mr Holwell, on whose pretensions there had been violent debates in the Court of Directors, was promoted to the office in virtue of his seniority till July when Mr Vansittart arrived. The new governor found the treasury at Calcutta empty the English troops at Patna on the very brink of mutiny and deserting in multitudes for want of pay the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay totally dependent upon Bengal for pecuniary resources the provision of an investment actually suspended the income of the Company scarcely sufficient for the current expenses of Calcutta the allowance paid by the Nabob for the troops several months in arrear; and the attainment of that, as well as of a large balance upon his first agreements, totally hopeless. Some change by which the revenue of the Company could be placed on a level with their expenditure, was indispensable. They

The necessity of an increased expenditure, and the total want of funds for defraying it, under the arrangements of Clive, is satisfactorily detailed

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and Mr Vansittart wavered. Meer Casim, who could be safe no longer in the power of Jaffier exclaimed against the perfidy of making and not fulfilling an engagement such as that which was contracted between them and formed his resolution of joining the Emperor with all his treasure and troops. The resolution of Mr Vansittart was at last confirmed and a favourable moment was chosen for occupying the palace of Jaffier with the troops. When assured that no designs against his person or authority were entertained; that nothing was proposed beyond a reform of his government in the hands of his son-in-law who would act as his deputy he replied, with disdain, that he was no stranger to the meaning of such language and too well acquainted with the characters of men, particularly that of his son-in-law to be in doubt respecting the consequences. He peremptorily refused to remain a vain pageant of royalty and desired permission to retire to Calcutta, to lead a private life under the English protection.¹

When the pecuniary distresses of the Company's government, and the enormous disclosures in that of the Nabob, were under the deliberation of the board at Calcutta, there was but one opinion concerning the necessity of some important change. To vest Meer Casim with the power requisite for reforming the government of the Nabob, was the plan approved of unanimously in the Select Committee. The force which might be necessary to subdue his reluctance was provided and though it was not anticipated that he would resign the government rather than comply the step which that resolution made necessary was a natural consequence and was without hesitation decreed. When Mr Vansittart returned to Calcutta on the 7th of November he found there were persons by whom those measures were by no means approved. Mr Verelst and Mr Smyth, two members of the Council, who were not of the Select Committee, entered a minute on the 8th, in which they complained that a measure of so much importance had not been submitted to

First Report of the Committee in 1773; Vansittart's Narrative, l. 18—193; Holwell's Memorial; Scriven's Observations on Vansittart's Narrative; Vansittart's Letter to the Proprietors of East India Stock in answer to Scriven; Verelst's View of the English Government in Bengal; Meer Mutakbaroon, ll. 130—169; Scott's Hist. of Bengal, p. 300—401.

BOOK IV friends were tortured to make confession of hidden trea-
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 1781. indignation of the English should be too violently roused
 and after all, the quantity of treasure which he was found
 to possess was insignificant, a sum barely sufficient for
 the daily expenses of his government.

This was the fatal error of Mr Vansittart's administration because it extinguished among the natives of rank all confidence in the English protection; and because the enormity to which, in this instance, he had lent his support, created an opinion of a weak or a corrupt partiality and diminished the weight of his interference when the Nabob was really the party aggrieved. For now began the memorable disputes between the Nabob and the Company's service about the internal trade and, at the same time, such changes were produced in the Council at Calcutta, as impaired considerably the Governor's power. These changes constitute an incident in the history of the Company the memory of which is of peculiar importance.

Just before Colonel Clive resigned the government in Bengal, the 147th paragraph of one of the last of the despatches, to which he affixed his name, addressed the Court of Directors in the following terms — Having fully spoken to every branch of your affairs at this Presidency under their established heads, we cannot, consistent with the real anxiety we feel for the future welfare of that respectable body from whom you and we are in trust, close this address without expostulating with freedom on the unprovoked and general asperity of your letter *per Prince Henry packet*. Our sentiments on this head, will, we doubt not, acquire additional weight, from the consideration of of their being subscribed by a majority of your Council, who are, at this very period, quitting your service, and consequently independent and disinterested. Permit us to say that the diction of your letter is most unworthy yourselves and us, in whatever relation considered, either as masters to servants, or gentlemen to gentlemen. More inadvertences, and casual neglects, arising from an un-

Vansittart's Narrative, l. 141—171; The evidence of Carnac and Coote in the First Report, and that of Clive, McOdra, and Carnac, in the Third Report of the Committee, 1772; Scott's Hist. of Bengal, p. 404—406. See Marikharoon, II. 160—1 1; Verelst's View of the English Government in Bengal p. 47

avoidable and most complicated confusion in the state of your affairs, have been treated in such language and sentiments, as nothing but the most glaring and premeditated faults could warrant. Groundless informations have, without further scrutiny, borne with you the stamp of truth, though proceeding from those who had therein obviously their own purpose to serve, no matter at whose expense. These have received from you such countenance and encouragement, as must most assuredly tend to cool the warmest zeal of your servants here and every where

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else, as they will appear to have been only the source of general reflections, thrown out at random against your faithful servants of this Presidency, in various parts of your letter now before us,—faithful to little purpose,—if the breath of scandal joined to private pique or private or personal attachments, have power to blow away in one hour the merits of many years' services, and deprive them of that rank, and those rising benefits, which are justly a spur to their integrity and application. The little attention shown to these considerations in the indiscriminate favours heaped on some individuals, and undeserved censures on others, will, we apprehend, lessen that spirit of zeal so very essential to the well-being of your affairs, and, consequently, in the end, if continued, prove the destruction of them. Private views may, it is much to be feared, take the lead here, from examples at home, and no gentlemen hold your service longer, nor exert themselves further in it, than their own exigencies require. This being the real present state of your service, it becomes strictly our duty to represent it in the strongest light, or we should, with little truth, and less propriety, subscribe ourselves,

“May it please your Honours,

“Your most faithful servants,

“ROBERT CLIVE,

“J Z HOLWELL,

“WM. B SUMNER,

“W M'GUIRE.”

The Company were even then no strangers to what they have become better acquainted with the longer they have acted, to that which, from the very nature of their authority, and from their local circumstances, it was evident

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they must experience a disregard of their orders, when contrary to the interests or passions of their servants but as they never before had a servant of such high pretensions, and so audacious a character as Clive, they had never before been treated with so much contumely in words. They were moved accordingly to resent it highly. In the very first paragraph of their general letter to Bengal, dated the 21st of January 1761, they said, We have taken under our most serious consideration the general letter from our late President and council of Fort William, dated the 29th December 1759 and many paragraphs therein containing gross insults upon and indignities offered to the Court of Directors tending to the subversion of our authority over our servants, and a dissolution of all order and good government in the Company's affairs to put an immediate stop therefore to this evil, we do positively order and direct, that, immediately upon receipt of this letter all those persons still remaining in the Company's service, who signed the said letter viz. Messieurs John Zephaniah Holwell, Charles Stafford Playdell, Wilham Brightwell Sumner and William McGuire, be dismissed from the Company's service and you are to take care that they be not permitted, on any consideration, to continue in India, but that they are to be sent to England by the first ships which return home the same season you receive this letter.

The dismissal of which this letter was the signal, not only gave a majority in the Council to the party by whom Vansittart was opposed but sent Mr Ellis, the most intemperate and arbitrary of all his opponents, to the chief ship of the factory at Patna. He treated the Nabob with the most insulting airs of authority and broke through all respect for his government. So early as the month of January he gave his orders to the commander of the troops to seize and keep prisoner one of the Nabob's collectors, who had raised some difficulties in permitting a quantity of opium, the private property of one of the Company's servants to pass duty free as the property of the Company. This outrage the discretion of the officer avoided, by suspending obedience to the order and sending a letter to the Nabob, to redress by his own authority whatever might appear to be wrong. About the same time another servant of the Nabob, a man of high connexions and influence,

purchased for the Nabob's use a quantity of nitre But the monopoly of the saltpetre trade had been conveyed to the Company Though an exception in favour of the Nabob to the extent of his own consumption was, from standing usage, so much understood, that to express it had appeared altogether useless and vain, this purchase was converted by Mr Ellis into such an invasion of the English rights, that the Nabob was not to be consulted in the punishment of his own servant The unfortunate man was seized, put in irons, and sent down a prisoner to Calcutta, to receive whatever chastisement the Council might direct It required the utmost address and power of the President to get him sent back to be punished by his master As to sending him back for the purpose of ascertaining whether he was guilty or innocent, that was a preliminary which it would have been absurd to propose. Some of the Council insisted that he should be publicly whipped at Calcutta, others, that he should have his ears cut off Not many days after these violent proceedings, Mr Ellis, having heard, by vague report, that two English deserters were concealed in the fort of Mongeer, despatched a company of Sepoys, with orders to receive the deserters, or to search the fort The Governor declared that no Europeans were there, and for ampler satisfaction carried two officers of the Company round the fort From apprehension, however, of some evil design, or from a very plain principle of military duty, he refused without orders to admit a body of armed men, shut the gates, and threatened to fire upon them if they approached the walls This Mr Ellis treated as the highest excess of insolence, and obstinately refused to withdraw the Sepoys till they, had searched the fort By these repeated invasions of his government, the pride of the Nabob was deeply wounded. He complained to the President in bitter terms, and with reason declared that the example, which was set by the servants of the Company, of trampling upon his authority deprived him of all dignity in the eyes of his subjects, and rendered it vain to hope for their obedience After a dispute of three months, during which Ellis was supported by the Council, the difference was compromised, by the Nabob's consenting to admit any person to search the fort whom Mr Vansittart should name, when Lieutenant Ironside, after the strictest investigation, was convinced that no

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European whatsoever except an old French invalid, whose freedom Mr Hastings procured, had been in the fort.

Hitherto Meer Casim had conducted his government with no ordinary success. He had reduced to obedience all the rebellious Zamindars. What was of still greater importance, he had, as was declared by the President, in his minute of the 22nd of March, 1762, discharged the whole of his pecuniary obligations to the English and satisfied both his own and his predecessor's troops.¹ He had extorted money with unsparring hands from the Zamindars and other functionaries. In the financial department of his government, he was clear-sighted, vigilant, and severe. He had introduced a strict economy without appearance of avarice, in his whole expenditure and he had made considerable progress in new-modelling and improving his army when the whole internal economy of his government became involved in disorder by the pretensions of the Company's servants.

In India, as under most uncivilized governments, the transit of goods within the country was made subject to duties and upon all the roads and navigable rivers, toll-houses, or custom-houses, (in the language of the country *chokrys*) were erected, which had power of stopping the goods, till the duties were levied. By the rude and oppressive nature of the government these custom houses were exceedingly multiplied; and in long carriages the inconvenience of numerous stoppages and payments was very severe. As in all other departments of the government, so in this, there was nothing regular and fixed the duties varied at different times and different places and a wide avenue was always open for the extortion of the collectors. The internal trade of the country was by these canoes subject to ruinous obstructions.

The English Company had at an early period availed themselves of a favourable opportunity to solicit exemption from such oppressive interruptions and expense and the rulers of the country who felt in their revenues the benefits of foreign commerce, granted a *phirma* by which the export and import trade of the Company was completely relieved, as both the goods which they imported

¹ His payments to the Company consisted of twenty-six lacs of sicca rupees of 2s. 8^{d.}, together with fifty-three lacs of current rupees, of 2s. 4^{d.} derived from the ceded districts. See Vansittart's Memoirs, Narrative, § 32.

were allowed to pass into the interior, and those which they purchased in the interior for exportation were allowed to pass to the sea without either stoppage or duties. A certificate, signed by the English President, or chiefs of factories, (in the language of the country a *dustuck*), shown at the toll-houses or chokeys, protected the property. The Company, however, engrossed to themselves the import and export trade between India and Europe, and limited the private trade of their servants to the business of the country. The benefit of this exemption therefore accrued to the Company alone, and though attempts had been sometimes made to extend the protection of the Company's *dustuck* to the trade carried on by their servants in the interior, this had been always vigorously opposed by the Subahdars, both as defrauding the public revenue, and injuring the native merchants.

No sooner had the English acquired an ascendancy in the government by the dethronement of Suraj-ad-dowla, and the elevation of Meer Jaffier, than the servants of the Company broke through the restraints which had been imposed upon them by former Subahdars, and engaged largely in the interior trade of the country. At first, however, they carried not their pretensions beyond certain bounds, and they paid the same duties which were levied on the subjects of the Nabob. It appears not that during the administration of Clive, any of the Company's servants, unless clandestinely, attempted to trade on any other terms. According, however, as they acquired experience of their power over the government of the country, and especially after the fresh and signal instance of it, the elevation of a new sovereign in the person of Meer Casim, the Company's *dustuck* or passport, which was only entitled to protect the goods of actual exportation and importation, was employed by the Company's agents of all descriptions to protect their private trade in every part of the country. So great was now the ascendancy of the English name, that the collectors or officers at the chokeys or toll-houses, who were fully aware of the dependence of their own government on the power and pleasure of the English, dared not in general to scrutinize the use which was made of the Company's *dustuck*, or to stop the goods which it fraudulently screened. The Company's servants, whose goods were thus conveyed entirely free from duty, while

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those of all other merchants were heavily burdened, were rapidly getting into their own hands the whole trade of the country and thus drying up one of the sources of the public revenue. When the collectors of these tolls, or transit duties, questioned the power of the dastuck, and stopped the goods, it was customary to send a party of Sepoys to seize the offender and carry him prisoner to the nearest factory. Meer Cassim was hardly seated on the musnud, when grievous complaints of these enormities came up to him from all quarters, and he presented the strongest remonstrances to the President of the Council. In his letter to the Governor dated March 26th, 1762, he says, From the factory of Calcutta to Comsumbar Patna, and Dacca, all the English chiefs, with their gomastahs, officers and agents in every district of the government, act as collectors, renters, and magistrates, and setting up the Company's colours, allow no power to my officers. And besides this, the gomastahs and other servants in every district, in every market and village, carry on a trade in oil, fish, straw, bamboo, rice, paddy, betel-nut, and other things and every man with a Company's dastuck in his hand regards himself as not less than the Company. It is abundantly proved that the picture drawn by the Nabob was not overcharged. Mr Hastings, in a letter to the President, dated Bangulpore, 25th April, 1762, said, "I beg to lay before you a grievance, which loudly calls for redress, and will, unless duly attended to, render ineffectual any endeavours to create a firm and lasting harmony between the Nabob and the Company—I mean, the oppressions committed under the sanction of the English name, and through the want of spirit to oppose them. This evil I am well assured, is not confined to our dependants alone but is practised all over the country by people falsely assuming the habit of our Sepoys, or calling themselves our gomastahs. As on such occasions the great power of the English intimidates the people from making any resistance; so, on the other hand, the indolence of the Bengalees, or the difficulty of gaining access to those who might do them justice, prevents our having knowledge of the oppressions. I have been surprised to meet with several English flags flying in places which I have passed; and on the river I do not believe that I passed a boat without one. By whatever title they have been assumed,

I am sure their frequency can bode no good to the Nabob's revenues, the quiet of the country, or the honour of our nation — A party of Sepoys, who were on the march before us, afforded sufficient proofs of the rapacious and insolent spirit of those people, where they are left to their own discretion. Many complaints against them were made me on the road, and most of the petty towns and serais were deserted at our approach, and the shops shut up from the apprehensions of the same treatment from us.”¹

At first the Governor attempted to redress these evils by gentle means, by cautioning the servants of the Company, by soothing the irritation of the Nabob, and lending his own authority to enable the native toll-gatherers to check the illegitimate traffic of the English. The mischief, however, increased. The efforts of the collectors were not only resisted, and the collectors themselves punished as heinous offenders on the spot, but these attempts of theirs excited the loudest complaints, they were represented as daring violations of the Company's rights, and undoubted evidence of a design on the part of the Nabob to expel the English from the country. As usual, one species of enormity introduced another. When the officers of government submitted to oppression, it necessarily followed that the people must submit. At the present time it is difficult to believe, even after the most undeniable proof, that it became a common practice to force the unhappy natives, both to buy the goods of the Company's servants, and of all those who procured the use of their name, at a greater, and to sell to the Company's servants the goods which they desired to purchase, at a less than the market price. The native judges and magistrates

¹ Mr Verelst says, (View of Bengal, p. 8 and 46) “The reader must here be informed, that a trade, free from duties, had been claimed by the Company's servants, supported by their forces, and established by the last treaty with Meer Jaffer, and that this article, though condemned by the Directors, was afterwards transcribed into the treaty with his son Nudjum al Dowlah. The contention during two years with Meer Cossim, in support of this trade, greatly weakened the country government, which his subsequent overthrow quite annihilated. At this time many black merchants found it expedient to purchase the name of any young writer in the Company's service, by loans of money, and under this sanction harassed and oppressed the natives. So plentiful a supply was derived from this source, that many young writers were enabled to spend 1500*l*. and 2000*l*. per annum, were clothed in fine linen, and fared sumptuously every day.” — “A trade was carried on without payment of duties, in the prosecution of which infinite oppressions were committed. English agents or gomastahs, not contented with injuring the people, trampled on the authority of government, binding and punishing the Nabob's officers, whenever they presumed to interfere. This was the immediate cause of the war with Meer Cossim.”

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were resisted in the discharge of their duties and even their functions were usurped. The whole frame of the government was relaxed and in many places the Zemindars and other collectors refused to be answerable for the revenues.¹

The President, aware of the prejudices which were fostered, by a majority of the board, against both the Nabob and himself, submitted not to their deliberation these disorders and disputes, till he found his own authority inadequate to redress them. The representations, presented to them, of the enormities to which the private trade of the Company's servants gave birth in the country were treated, by the majority of the Council, as the effect of a weak or interested subservience to the views of the Nabob while they received the complaints of the servants and their agents against the native officers, more often in fault, according to Hastings and Vansittart, from laxity than tyranny as proofs of injustice demanding immediate punishment, and of hostile designs against which effec-

The following letter to the Nabob from one of his officers, affords specimen of the complaints; it is dated Backergunge, May 25 1762. "The situation of affairs at this place obliges me to apply to your honour for instructions for my further proceedings.—My instructions which I brought here were, that in case any Europeans or their servants committed any disorders, they were to be sent to Calcutta, notwithstanding any pretence they shall make for so doing.—Notwithstanding the rigour of these orders, I have ever made it my business (when anything troubling happened) to endeavour by gentle means, to persuade the gentlemen's gomastahs here to act in peaceable manner; which, although repeated several times, has had no effect; but, on the contrary has occasioned their writing complaints of me to their respective masters, that I obstructed them in their business, and ill-used them; and in return I have received menacing letters from several gentlemen, threatening if I interfere with their servants, to use such measures as I may repeat nor have the gentlemen only done this, their very gomastahs have made it public here, that in case I stop them in any proceeding, they will use the same methods; of the truth of which I have good proofs. Now for I am to inform you what I have obstructed them in. This place was of great trade formerly, but is now brought to nothing by the following practices. A gentleman sends gomastahs here to buy or sell. He immediately looks upon himself as sufficient to force every inhabitant, either to buy his goods or sell him theirs and on refusal, (in case of non-compliance) flogging or confinement immediately ensues. This is not sufficient even when willing, but second force is made use of, which is to engross the different branches of trade to themselves, and not to suffer any persons to buy or sell the articles they trade in; and if the country people do it, then repetition of their authority is put in practice; and again, what things they purchase, they think the least they can do is, to talk them for considerable deal less than another merchant, and oftentimes refuse paying that, and my interfering occasions an immediate complaint.—These, and many other oppressions which are daily practiced, is the reason that this place is growing destitute of inhabitants, &c.—Before, justice was given in the public catcheries, but now every gomastah is become judge they even pass sentences on the Zemindars themselves, and draw money from them by pretended injuries. Vansittart's Narrative II. 112.

tual securities could not be too speedily taken Of the Council a great proportion were deriving vast emoluments from the abuses, the existence of which they denied, and the President obtained support from Mr Hastings alone, in his endeavours to check enormities, which, a few years afterwards, the Court of Directors, the President, the servants of the Company themselves, and the whole world, joined in reprobating, with every term of condemnation and abhorrence

Observing the progress of these provocations and resentments, Vansittart anticipated nothing but the calamity of war, unless some effectual measures could be adopted to prevent them Dependence upon the English, though it had been light, was a yoke which the Nabob would doubtless have been very willing to throw off This presumed inclination the majority of the Council treated as a determined purpose, and every measure of his administration was, according to them, a proof of his hostile designs The Nabob, aware of the strength of the party to whom his elevation was an object of aversion, naturally considered the friendship of the English as a tenure far from secure The report was spread, that the views of his enemies would be adopted in England, and it is no wonder if, against a contingency so very probable, he was anxious to be prepared Vansittart, however, who was not mistaken as to the interest which the Nabob had in maintaining his connexion with the English, and his want of power to contend with them, remained assured of his disposition to peace, unless urged by provocations too great for his temper to endure He formed the plan, therefore, of a meeting with Meer Casim, in hopes that, by mutual explanations and concessions, there might be drawn, between the rights of the government on the one hand, and the pretensions of the Company's servants on the other, such a line of demarcation as would preclude all future injuries and complaints With Mr Hastings, as a coadjutor, he arrived at Mongee on the 30th of November, and was received with all the marks of cordiality and friendship After some bitter complaints, the Nabob agreed that all preceding animosities should be consigned to oblivion, and that the present interview should be wholly employed in preventing the recurrence of such

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(which, however all preceding Nabobs had disallowed) to the internal trade, and that it was out of compliment, not by obligation, that they had in any case consented to the payment of duties. It was decided, after many words, that, as an acknowledgement to the Nabob, and out of their own liberality and free choice, they would pay a duty of two and a half per cent. upon the article of salt alone, and no other instead of the nine per cent. upon all articles for which Vanalittart had agreed. It was, however at the same time decreed, that all disputes between the gomastahs of the English, and the subjects of the native government, should be referred, not to the native tribunals, but to the heads of factories and residents that is, should be referred to men, not only in the great majority of cases far too distant to receive the complaints but, what was still more shameful, men reaping exorbitant profits from the abuses over which they were thus exclusively vested with the judicial power.

When Vanalittart took leave of the Nabob, he was setting out upon an expedition against the kingdom of Nepaul, a small country completely surrounded, after the manner of Cashmere, by the northern mountains. It was a country which the Mohammedan arms had never reached and on the subject of its riches, oriental credulity influenced by the report of its yielding gold, had room for unlimited expansion. The conquest of a country abounding with gold, held out irresistible temptations to the Nabob. He ascended the ridge of mountains by which it is separated from Bengal but he was met by the Nepaulese in a dangerous pass and, after a contest, which appalled him, abandoned the enterprise. He was met, upon his return, by accounts of the reception which the regulations of Vanalittart had experienced in the Council of the resistance which had been opposed to his officers in their attempts to execute his orders; and of the seizure and imprisonment which in various instances they had undergone. He wrote, in terms of the highest indignation; and called upon the English to relieve him from the burden of the Subahdarry since they deprived him of the powers without which the government of the country could not be carried on. His patience was nearly exhausted: he now therefore, executed his resolution of abandoning all duties

on the transit of goods, and laid the interior trade of his country perfectly open

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The conduct of the Company's servants, upon this occasion, furnishes one of the most remarkable instances upon record, of the power of interest to extinguish all sense of justice, and even of shame. They had hitherto insisted, contrary to all right and all precedent, that the government of the country should exempt their goods from duty. They now insisted that it should impose duties upon the goods of all other traders, and accused it as guilty of a breach of peace toward the English nation, because it proposed to remit them¹

To enforce these conditions, and yet to maintain the appearance of omitting no effort to obtain the consent of the Nabob, it was proposed in the Council to send to him a deputation. For this purpose, Mr Amyatt and Mr Hay volunteered their services. They departed with their instructions on the 4th of April. In the meantime, in all parts of the country, the disputes between the officers of the government and the Company's servants, were carried to the greatest height. Many complaints arrived at Calcutta of the resistance which the gomastahs of the English experienced in the conduct of their business, and even of the outrages to which they were sometimes exposed. On the other hand, a multitude of instances were produced, in which the English Sepoys had been employed to seize and bind, and beat the officers of the government, and to protect the agents of the Company's servants in all the enormities and oppressions which they exercised upon the

¹ In the Council, the President and Mr Hastings were, as before, the only dissentients, and said (see their minute, Consultation, March 24), "We cannot think the Nabob to blame (in abolishing the duties), nor do we see how he could do otherwise. For although it may be for our interest to determine, that we will have all the trade in our hands, take every article of the produce of the country off the ground at the first hand, and afterwards send it where we please free of customs, yet it is not to be expected that the Nabob will join with us in endeavouring to deprive all the merchants of the country of the means of carrying on their business, which must undoubtedly soon be the case, if they are obliged to pay heavy duties, and we trade in every article on the footing before mentioned.—Neither in our opinion could the Nabob in such circumstances, collect enough to pay the expense of the chokers, collectors, &c. As to the Nabob's rights to lay trade open, it is our opinion, that the Nizam of every province has a right to anything for the relief of the merchants trading under his protection." Vansittart, iii. 74.—W There can be no difference of opinion on these proceedings. The narrow-sighted selfishness of commercial cupidity, had rendered all the members of the Council, with the two honourable exceptions of Vansittart and Hastings, obstinately inaccessible to the plainest dictates of reason, justice, and policy.—W

BOOK IV and answered the command which he received for that
 CHAP V purpose by firing upon the Nabob's people, the boats were
 1. 63. immediately boarded, and in the struggle he himself, with
 several others, was slain.

Both parties now hastened to take the field. The Nabob was speedily encouraged by tidings from Patna. After Captain Carstairs, the officer commanding the English troops, which were sent a little before day-break on the morning of the 25th to surprise Patna, had, without much difficulty finding the guards for the most part off their duty scaled the walls and after the Governor of Patna, who suddenly collected a portion of the garrison, and made a very short resistance, had left the city and fled towards Mongheer the English, masters of the whole place, except the citadel, and a strong palace, into which an officer had thrown himself, broke through the rules of prudence as much in the prosecution, as they had broken through those of caution in the commencement of their operations. The troops were allowed to disperse, and were plundering the houses of the inhabitants when the Governor who had only marched a few miles before he met a detachment which had been sent to reinforce him from Mongheer receiving at the same time intelligence of the resistance made by the citadel and palace, returned. The English were ill prepared to receive him. After a slight resistance they spiked their cannon, and retired to their factory. It was soon surrounded when, fear taking place of their recent temerity they evacuated the place during the night, and taking to their boats which were stationed at their cantonments at Bankipore they fled up the river to Chopperah, and towards the frontiers of Oude, where being attacked by the Fojedar of Sirkaur Sarun, they laid down their arms. The factory at Coimimbur was plundered about the same time and all the English who belonged to it, as well as those who had fled from Patna, were sent prisoners to Mongheer.

It had, some time before, been determined in the Council, the President and Mr Hastings refusing to concur that in case of a war with Meer Cassim, the door should be closed against accommodation, by divesting him of the government, and elevating another person to his throne. When the melancholy death, therefore, of Mr

Anyatt became known, a negotiation was immediately commenced with Meer Jaffier, whose puerile passion to reign made him eager to promise compliance with any conditions which were proposed. Besides confirming the grant which had been obtained from Meer Casim of the revenues of the provinces of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, for defraying the expense of the English troops employed in the defence of the country, the new Subahdar granted exemption to the trade of the Company's servants from all duties, except the two and a half per cent which these servants themselves, out of their own liberality, agreed to pay upon the single article of salt. He consented also to rescind the ordinance of Meer Casim for the general remission of commercial imposts, and to levy the ancient duties upon all except the English dealers. He engaged to maintain 12,000 horse, and 12,000 foot, to pay to the Company thirty lacks of rupees, on account of their losses and the expense of the war, to reimburse the personal losses of individuals, and to permit no Europeans but English to erect fortifications in the country.

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On the 2d of July the English army was ordered to march from Ghorettee. It consisted of 650 Europeans, and 1200 Sepoys, exclusive of the black cavalry, commanded by Major Adams, of the King's Eighty-fourth regiment, and was afterwards joined by 100 Europeans and a battalion of Sepoys from Midnapore. After concluding the treaty on the 11th, the new Nabob proceeded to the army, which he joined at Agurdeep on the 17th.

The first defensive movement of Meer Casim was to send three of his generals, with their respective troops, to post themselves, for the protection of Moorshedabad, between that city and the English army. That army encountered them on the 19th, and gave them a total defeat. They retreated from the battle towards Geniah, where they received command to post themselves, and where they were reinforced by the principal part of Meer Casim's army, among the rest by the German Sumroo,¹ who commanded the Sepoys, or the troops disciplined in the European manner, in the service of that Nabob. On

¹ This adventurer came to India as a serjeant in the French army.

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the 23d, the English army advanced to Chuna Cullee, and on the 24th in the morning stormed the lines at Mootejil, which gave them possession of Moorsshedabad. On the 2d of August they reached the plain of Gernah, near Sootee, where the enemy waited and gave them battle. It was the severest conflict which the English had yet sustained with an Indian army. Meer Casim had been very ambitious to introduce the European order among his troops and he was now defended by a body of men better appointed and better disciplined than those which any native commander had ever brought into the field. The battle lasted four hours, during which the enemy once broke a part of the English line, took possession of two guns, and attacked the Eighty-fourth regiment in front and rear. The steadiness, however of the English exhausted the impetuosity of their assailants, and in the end bestowed upon them a complete and brilliant victory. The enemy abandoned all their cannon, with 150 boats laden with provisions, and fled to a strong post on a small stream, called the Oodwa, where Meer Casim had formed a very strong entrenchment. On every reverse of fortune, the fears and the rage of that unhappy man appear to have inflamed him to a renewed act of cruelty and Ramparain, who hitherto had been retained a prisoner with several chiefs and persons of distinction, was, upon the present disaster ordered for execution. It was at this time only that Meer Casim, among whose qualities contempt of personal danger had no share, having first conveyed his family and treasures to the strong hold of Rotas, left Mongheer. He marched towards Oodwa, but halting at a distance, contented himself with forwarding some bodies of troops. The English approached the entrenchment on the 11th. It occupied the whole of a narrow space which extended between the river and the foot of the hills. The ditch, which was deep, was fifty or sixty feet broad, and full of water. The ground in front was swampy and admitted no approach, except for a space of about 100 yards on the bank of the river. At this place the English, harassed daily by numerous bodies of cavalry both in front and rear, were detained for nearly a month. On the 5th of September while a feigned attack at the bank of the river engaged the attention of the enemy a grand effort was

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Meer Casim was received by them with all the distinction due to the greatest viceroy of the Mogul empire. As the enterprise against the Bundelas threatened to retard the assistance which he was impatient to receive against the English, he offered to reduce them with his own battalions, crossed the Jumna, took one of their fortresses, and so alarmed them, by his artillery and his Sepoys, dressed and disciplined in the European manner that they hastened to make their submission and Suja-ad-dowla who, under pretence of assisting Meer Casim, already grasped in his expectation the three provinces of the East, marched with his allies to Benares, to make preparations for his selfish enterprise.

In the mean time the English, who were ignorant of his designs, and not without hopes that he would either deliver Meer Casim into their hands, or at least deprive him of his treasures and troops, directed that the army should be cantoned on the frontiers for the purpose of watching his motions. In this situation an alarming disaffection broke out among the troops. The importance and difficulties of the service which they had rendered in recovering the provinces from Meer Casim, had raised a high expectation of some proportional reward. Nor had the opportunity of acting upon them been neglected by the emissaries of the enemy. On the 11th of February the European battalion stood to their arms, and, after loading their pieces and fixing their bayonets, took possession of the artillery parks, and marched towards the Carumnassa. The Sepoys were also in motion. But, of them, by the exertions of their officers, a great proportion were induced to return. Of the Europeans, the English, with few exceptions, desisted and came back the rest, in number about 300 of whom some were Germans, and the greater part were French, proceeded towards Benares. At the beginning of the month of March, when Major Carnac arrived to take the command, a mutinous disposition still prevailed among the troops provisions were in great scarcity and the preparations making for the invasion of the province by the Nabob of Oude were no longer a secret. Though urged by the Governor and Council to act upon the offensive, and to push the war into Suja-ad-dowla's dominions, he agreed with all his officers in opinion, that

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In the month of May Major, afterwards Sir Hector Munro, arrived from Bombay with a body of troops, partly King's and partly Company's and hastened with them to Patna, to take the command of the army. He found the troops, Europeans as well as Sepoys, extremely mutinous, deserting to the enemy threatening to carry off their officers, demanding higher pay and a large donation, promised, as they affirmed, by the Nabob. The Major resolved to subdue this spirit by the severest measures. He had hardly arrived when a whole battalion of Sepoys, with their arms and accoutrements, went off to join the enemy. He immediately detached a body of troops on whom he thought he could depend, to pursue them and bring them back. They overtook them in the night, when asleep, and made them prisoners. The Major ready to receive them with the troops under arms, ordered their officers to select fifty whom they deemed the most depraved and mischievous, and of this fifty to select again twenty four of the worst. He then ordered a field court-martial, composed of their own black officers, to be immediately held and addressed the court, impressing them with a sense of the destruction which impended over an army in which crimes like these were not effectually repressed. The prisoners were found guilty of mutiny and desertion, and sentenced to suffer death in any manner which the commander should direct. He ordered four of them to be immediately tied to the guns, and blown away; when four grenadiers presented themselves, and begged, as they had always had the post of honour that they should first be allowed to suffer. After the death of these four men, the European officers of the battalions of Sepoys who were then in the field came to inform the Major that the Sepoys would not suffer the execution of any more. He ordered the artillery officers to load the field pieces with grape; and drew up the Europeans, with the guns in their intervals. He then desired the officers to return to the head of their battalions after which he commanded the battalions to ground their arms, and assured them if a man attempted to move that he would give orders to fire. Sixteen more of the twenty four men were then blown

It appears by Munro's evidence (First Report, Committee, 1773) that such promise was made to them, and through Major Adams.

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The very day after the battle, the Emperor sent his application to the English commander who immediately wrote to the Presidency for directions and received authority to conclude an agreement. The Emperor complained that he had been the state prisoner of Suja-oddowla and before the answer from Calcutta arrived, marched along with the English, and encamped with his guards close to them every night. When the army arrived at Benares, Suja-oddowla sent his minister with overtures of peace; promising twenty-five lacks of rupees to reimburse the Company for the expenses of the war twenty-five lacks to the army and eight lacks to the Commander himself. The preliminary surrender of Meer Casim and Sumroo was still however demanded. The perfidious Viceroy had already violated the laws of hospitality and honour towards his wretched guest. A quarrel was picked, on account of the non-payment of the monthly subsidy which the Ex Nabob had promised for the troops employed in attempting his restoration the unhappy fugitive was arrested in his tent and his treasures were seized. Still the Nabob dreaded the infamy of delivering him up but, if that would satisfy the English, he offered to let him escape. With regard to Sumroo, his proposal was to invite him to an entertainment, and have him despatched in presence of any English gentleman who might be sent to witness the scene. As this mode of their enemies was not agreeable to English morality the negotiation ceased but Meer Casim, who dreaded the conclusion to which it might lead, contrived to escape with his family and a few friends into the Rohilla country whither he had providently before the plunder of his treasures, despatched a dependant with some of his jewels.

The negotiation with the Emperor proceeded with less obstruction. It was proposed, as far as mutual approbation extended, agreed and contracted that the English, by virtue of the imperial grant, should obtain possession of Gauxcepoore, and the rest of the territory of Bulwant Sing, the Zemindar of Benares that on the other hand they should establish the Emperor in the possession of Allahabad, and the rest of the dominions of Suja-oddowla; and the Emperor engaged to reimburse them after-

wards, out of the royal revenues, for the whole of the expense which this service might oblige them to incur

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CHAP V

In the mean time, affairs of no trivial importance were transacting in the Council. They had been extremely urgent with Meer Jaffier to leave the army, and come down to Calcutta, before Major Carnac quitted the command. The treasury of the Company was in a most exhausted state, and every effort was to be used to make Jaffier yield it a more abundant supply. In addition to the sums for which he had contracted in the recent treaty, a promise was drawn from him to pay five lacks per month toward the expense of the war so long as it should last. But his former engagements to the Company were not yet discharged. The payments also to individuals, stipulated under the title of compensation for losses, were swelled to an oppressive amount. When this article was first inserted in the treaty, the Nabob was informed that the demand at the utmost would extend to a sum of about ten lacks. That demand, however, was soon after stated at twenty, then at thirty, afterwards at forty, and at last was fixed at fifty-three lacks of rupees. We are assured, by a Director of the Company, "That all delicacy was laid aside in the manner in which payment was obtained for this sum, of which seven-eighths was for losses sustained, or said to be sustained, in an illicit monopoly of the necessaries of life, carried on against the orders of the Company, and to the utter ruin of many thousands of the Indian merchants, that of the whole one half was soon extorted from him, though part of the payments to the Company was still undischarged, and though the Company was sinking under the burden of war, and obliged to borrow great sums of money of their servants at eight per cent interest, and even with that assistance unable to carry on the war and their investment, but obliged to send their ships half loaded to Europe"¹. By the revenues of the three ceded districts, added to the monthly payment for the war, "the Company," we are informed by Clive, "became possessed of one half of the Nabob's revenues. He was allowed," says that great informant, "to collect the other half for himself, but in fact he was no more than a banker for the Company's servants, who could draw

1764.

¹ Scrafton's Observations on Vansittart's Narrative, p 48, 49

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with the Court of Directors, on the subject of his return to Bengal, Clive expressed himself in the following manner: "The trading in salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, having been one cause of the present disputes, I hope these articles will be restored to the Nabob, and your servants absolutely forbidden to trade in them. This will be striking at the root of the evil." At a general meeting, however, of proprietors, held on the 18th of May 1764, it was urged by several active members, and urged to the conviction of the majority that the servants of the Company in India ought not to be deprived of such precious advantages which enabled them to revisit their native countries with such independent fortunes as they were entitled to expect. The Court therefore **RESOLVED** That it be recommended to the Court of Directors to reconsider the orders sent to Bengal relative to the trade of the Company's servants in salt, betel nut, and tobacco, and to regulate this important point, either by restrictions framed at home, or by referring it to the Governor and Council of Fort William. In consequence of this recommendation, the Court of Directors by letter dated 1st of June, 1764, and sent by the same ship which carried out Lord Clive, instruct the Governor and Council, after, "consulting the Nabob, to form a proper and equitable plan for carrying on the inland trade.

The presents which, since their acquiring an ascendancy in the government, their servants had been in the habit of

purchase their investment by ready money only we require full explanation how this can affect them, or how it ever could have been practised in the per class of their investment, (which the latter part of Mr Johnstone's memoirs, entered on Consultation the 21st July 1764, mentions); for it would almost justify suspicion, that the goods of our servants have been put off to the weavers, in part payment of the Company's investment.

Letter to Directors, dated 27th April, 1764. Fourth Report, App. No. 2.

In quoting this resolution, some important considerations have been made: as no reference is given, it is not possible to say with where they originate. The entire resolution runs, that it be recommended to the Court of Directors to reconsider the orders sent to Bengal relative to the Trade of the Company's servants in the articles of Salt, Betel, and Tobacco, and that they do give such directions for regulating the same, *generally to the interests of the Company and the Nabob*, as to them may appear prudent, either by settling here at home the restrictions under which this trade ought to be carried on, or by referring it to the Governor and Council of Fort William, to regulate this important point in such manner as may prevent all future disputes between the Nabob and the Company. The professed object of the resolution, therefore, was not the advantage of the Company's servants, although it is possible that it had in prospect the arrangement afterwards adopted by Clive in Bengal. MSS. Decada.—W

receiving, sometimes to a very large amount, from the Nabobs and other chiefs of the country, were another subject which now engaged the serious attention of the Company. The practice which prevails in all rude governments of accompanying any application to a man in power with a gratification to some of his ruling passions, most frequently to the steadiest of all his passions, his avarice or rapacity, has always remarkably distinguished the governments in the East, and hardly any to so extraordinary a degree as the governments of the very rude people of India. When the English suddenly acquired their extraordinary power in Bengal, the current of presents, so well accustomed to take its course in the channel drawn by hope and fear, flowed very naturally, and very copiously, into the lap of the strangers. A person in India, who had favours to ask, or evil to deprecate, could not easily believe, till acceptance of his present, that the great man to whom he addressed himself was not his foe. Besides the sums, which we may suppose it to have been in the power of the receivers to conceal, and of the amount of which it is not easy to form a conjecture, the following were detected and disclosed by the Committee of the House of Commons, in 1773.

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“Account of such Sums as have been proved or acknowledged before the Committee to have been distributed by the Princes and other Natives of Bengal, from the Year 1757 to the Year 1766, both inclusive, distinguishing the principal Times of the said Distributions, and specifying the Sums received by each Person respectively”

Revolution in favour of Meer Jaffier in 1757

Mr Drake (Governor)	Rupees	280,000	£31,500
Colonel Clive as second in the			
Select Committee	.	280,000	
Ditto as Commander in Chief		200,000	
Ditto as a private donation		1600,000 ¹	
		—————	2,080,000 234,000

¹ It appears, by the Extract in the Appendix, No 102, from the evidence given on the trial of Ram Churn before the Governor and Council in 1761, by Roy Dulp, who had the principal management in the distribution of the treasures of the deceased Nabob Surajah Dowla, upon the accession of Jaffier Ally Cawn—that Roy Dulp then received, as a present from Colonel Clive, one lack, 25,000 rupces, being five per cent. on 25 lacks. It does not appear that this evidence was taken on oath.”

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1763.

the contest, they had ever elevated their hopes. To see the Carnatic under the Government of a chief, who should have obligations to them for his elevation, and from whose gratitude they might expect privileges and favour was the alluring prospect which had carried them into action. They not only now beheld the man, whose interest they had espoused, in possession of the government of the country but they beheld him dependent upon themselves, and the whole kingdom of the Carnatic subject to their absolute will.

It was the grand object of deliberation, and the grand practical difficulty to settle in what proportion the powers and advantages should be divided between the nominal sovereign and the real one. Clear complete, well-defined and unambiguous regulations, are naturally employed for the prevention of discordance, when the parties have wisdom, and are free from clandestine views. On the present occasion, according to the slovenly mode in which the business of government is usually transacted, few things were regulated by professed agreement the final distribution was left to come out among the practical, that is, the fortuitous results of government and of the two parties each inwardly resolved to appropriate as great a share of the good things as power and cunning would allow.

The English were not disposed to forget that upon them the whole burden of the war had devolved that they alone had conquered and gained the country that the assistance of Mohammed Ali had been of little or rather of no importance and that even now he possessed not resources and talents sufficient to hold the government in his hands, unless they continued to support him.

On the other hand, Mohammed Ali looked upon himself as invested with all the dignity and power of Nabob; and the absolute ruler of the country. During the whole progress of the dispute, the English had represented themselves as contending only for him; had proclaimed that his rights were indisputable and that their zeal for justice was the great motive which had engaged them so

It is scarcely just, however to expect complete regulations affecting varied circumstances and several relations; to legislate before experience, is to divert the order of things, and except in some lucky hits, to ensure failure.—W

deeply in the war. The Nabob, therefore, hesitated not to consider himself the master, though a master owing great obligations to a servant who had meritoriously exerted himself in his cause.

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CHAP VI

1768

The seeds of dissatisfaction between the rulers of the Carnatic, abundantly sown in a fruitful soil, were multiplied by the penury of the country. The avidity, which made the English so long believe that every part of India abounded with riches, had filled them with hopes of a great stream of wealth, from the resources of the Carnatic. And although they had already experienced how little was to be drawn, and with how great difficulty, from the districts which had come into their power, though they were also aware how the country had been desolated by the ravages of war, they still expected it to yield a large supply to their treasury, and accused and complained of the Nabob when their expectations were not fulfilled.

The Nabob, who was the weakest party, and as such had the greatest occasion for the protection of well-defined regulations, had, before the surrender of the French in Pondicherry, presented a draught of the conditions to which it appeared to him expedient that the two parties should bind themselves. He offered to pay to the Company, in liquidation of the sums for which in the course of the war he had become responsible, twenty-eight lacs of rupees annually till the debts should be discharged, and three lacs of rupees annually to defray the expense of the garrison at Trichinopoly. Should Pondicherry be reduced, and the Company afford him an adequate force to extract from the renters and other tributaries of the country, the contributions which they owed, he would discharge his debt to the Company in one year. Should any of the districts between Nellore and Trimvelly, be taken or plundered by an enemy, a proportional deduction must take place, from the twenty-eight lacs which were assigned to the Company. On the other side, the Nabob desired, that the Company would not countenance the disobedience of the local governors and administrators, that the English officers in the forts or garrisons should not interfere in the affairs of the country, or the disputes of the inhabitants, that the Nabob's flag, instead of the Com-

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1 62.

situation. He sent back the agreement unsigned, with strong marks of his displeasure; and told the Nabob by letter that it ill became the situation in which he stood, to make conditions with the Company since "they" said he, do not take any thing from you but they are the givers, and you are a receiver"

It was not till the summer of 1763, that the Nabob and Presidency were enabled to turn their attention to Madura and Tinivelly. Though Mohammed Issoof had been vigorously employed, from the raising of the siege of Madras, till the fall of Pondicherry in reducing the refractory Polygars and other local commanders, obedience and tranquillity were by no means established. And when that active and useful partisan proposed to take the country as renter, and to become responsible, though for a small revenue, from a region which hitherto had cost much and yielded nothing, the offer was not unwillingly embraced. Mohammed Issoof, like other renters of India, had no doubt an inclination to withhold if possible the sum which he engaged to pay out of the taxes which he was empowered to collect and, like other Governors, contemplated, it is probable, from the very beginning, the chance of independence. It cannot, however be denied, that the enemies with whom he had as yet been obliged to struggle, and who had heretofore rendered the country not only unproductive, but burdensome, left him no revenue to pay. It appears, accordingly that none had ever been received. For this failure, the Nabob and the Company now proceeded to inflict chastisement, and in the month of August, 1763, a combined army of natives and English marched to Madura. Mohammed Issoof endeavoured by negotiation, and the influence of those among the English whom he had rendered his friends, to ward off the blow. But when he found these efforts unavailing, he resolved to give himself the chance of a struggle in his own defence. He was not a man of whom the subjugation was to be expected at an easy price. He baffled all the efforts of the Nabob and the Company till the month of October 1764 when he had already forced them to expend a million sterling, and no ordinary quantity of English blood and without a deed of treachery which placed his person in their hands,

Mr Pigot's Letter to the Nabob August 12, 1763.

it is uncertain how far he might have prolonged his resistance. Among a body of French troops whom he had received from the Raja of Tanjore, was a person of the name of Marchand, by whom he was seized and delivered to his enemies.

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 1764

The occasions on which the interests of the Nabob and of the Raja of Tanjore were liable to clash or to interfere, became, through their jealousy and mutual hatred, a perpetual source of contention. The treaty which had been formed under the coercive authority of the English, had defined the terms of their pecuniary relation with the usual want of foresight, every thing else was left vague and disputable. The river Cavery, about six miles to the north-west of Trichinopoly, is divided into two streams, of which the northern takes the name of Coleroon, and, by a course not far from direct, joins the sea at Devicotah. The southern branch, which retains the name of Cavery, passes through the flat alluvial territory of Tanjore, and dividing itself into a great number of smaller streams, overflows, and fructifies the country. But it so happens that the two branches of this great river, after flowing at some distance from one another, for a space of about twenty miles, again approach, forming what is called the island of Seringham, and are only prevented by a narrow neck of land, which requires continual repairs, from reuniting their streams, and falling down the channel of the Coleroon to the ocean. The kingdom of Tanjore was thus in the highest degree interested in the preservation of the mound of the Cavery, upon the waters of which its vegetative powers so greatly depended, and it must have anciently been a powerful instrument of coercion in the hands of the neighbouring kingdom of Trichinopoly, within the territories of which it appears to have been always included.

The Nabob, as sovereign of Trichinopoly, now assumed authority over the mound of the Cavery, and the dispute between him and the Raja grew to importance. The Raja endeavoured to make the reparation of the mound the condition of paying the money which he owed by the treaty, and the President, after writing several letters to the Nabob, appointed a deputy to inquire into the subject and to make his reports. The rights in question were

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1765

actually two. The first was the right of sovereignty in the mound, the second was the right of having the mound preserved and repaired. The first, as no one disputed, belonged to the Nabob. The second, if prescription and equity constituted any title, as undeniably belonged to the Raja. Ignorantly and awkwardly and not without English co-operation, they blended them together in one question and the dispute became interminable. Who had the right of repairing the mound, was the subject about which they contended, the Nabob claiming it, as inherent in the sovereignty and the Raja as inherent in the title which he possessed to the waters of the Cavery. Unhappily in the right which, as sovereign, the Nabob claimed, of permitting no one but himself to repair the mound, he tacitly included the right of omitting all repairs whenever he pleased. The Raja, who dreaded the consequences, solicited an interview and by making ample submission and protestations, effected a temporary compromise. It was not long, however, before he had again occasion to complain and wrote the most pressing letters to Madras, beseeching the Presidency to lay their commands upon the Nabob for the repair of the mound. The Nabob hardly disguised his intention of allowing it to be washed away, alleging the wishes of his own people, who, on account of the overflowing of the low grounds to the eastward of Trichinopoly desired the waters of the Cavery to be turned into the channel of the Coleroon. The English at last interfered, with a determination to prevail and the Nabob, but not before the month of January 1765, and with great reluctance, gave his consent, that the mound of the Cavery should be repaired by the King of Tanjore.

CHAPTER VII.

Second Administration of Orre.—Company's Orders respecting the Private Trade disregarded.—Arrangements with the Vizir.—With the Emperor.—Acquisition of the Dewannee.—Private Trade created a Monopoly for the

Benefit of the superior Servants—Reduction of the Military Allowances—Its effects—Clive resigns, and Verelst succeeds—Proceedings in England relative to the Rate of Dividend on Company's Stock—Financial Difficulties—Verelst resigns, and Cartier succeeds

BOOK IV

CHAP VII

1765

LORD CLIVE, together with Mr Sumner and Mr Sykes, who had accompanied him from England, and were two of the persons empowered to form the Select Committee, arrived at Calcutta, on the 3d of May, 1765. The two other persons of whom that extraordinary machine of government was to be composed, were absent, General Carnac, beyond the confines of the province of Bahar, with the army, and Mr Verelst, at the distant settlement of Chittagong. For as much as the disturbances, which guided the resolves of the Company, when they decreed that such a new organ of government should exist, were now removed, and for as much as the Select Committee were empowered to exercise their extraordinary powers for so long a time only as those disturbances should remain, it was a question, whether they were entitled to form themselves into a governing body, but a question of which they speedily disposed.¹ On the 7th of May, exactly four days after their arrival, Lord Clive, and the two gentlemen who accompanied him, assembled and without waiting for communication with the rest of the destined members declared the Select Committee formed,² assumed the whole powers of government civil and military, and administered to themselves and their secretaries an oath of secrecy.

The great corruption which they represented as prevailing in the government, and tainting to a prodigious degree the conduct of the Company's servants, was the foundation on which they placed the necessity for the establishment of the Committee. The picture which they drew of these corruptions exhibited, it is true, the most

¹ "Upon my arrival in Bengal," said Clive (in his speech in the House of Commons, ut supra p 3), "I found the powers given were so loosely and jesuitically worded that they were immediately contested by the Council. I was determined, however, to put the most extensive construction upon them, because I was determined to do my duty to my country."

² The rest were "two," and to one of these at least, General Carnac, Lord Clive wrote the moment of his arrival. There was no occasion to wait for his presence or that of Verelst. Life of Clive, ii 318—W

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1765.

hideous and the most disgusting features. But the impartial judge will probably find, that the interest of the Committee to make out the appearance of a strong necessity for investing themselves with extraordinary powers, after the original cause for them had ceased to exist, had some influence on their delineations. In the letter addressed to the Committee, with which Lord Clive opened their proceedings, on the 7th of May. A very few days, he says, "are elapsed since our arrival; and yet, if we consider what has already come to our knowledge, we cannot hesitate a moment upon the necessity of assuming the power that is in us of conducting, as a Select Committee, the affairs both civil and military of this settlement. What do we hear of, what do we see, but anarchy confusion, and, what is worse, an almost general corruption. Happy I am sure, you would have been, as well as myself, had the late conduct of affairs been so irreproachable as to have permitted them still to continue in the hands of the Governor and Council." Yet one would imagine that four days afforded not a very ample space for collecting a satisfactory body of evidence on so extensive a field, especially if we must believe the noble declarer that the determination to which it led was a disagreeable one.

"Three paths," observed his Lordship, when afterwards defending himself, "were before me. 1. One was strewed with abundance of fair advantages. I might have put myself at the head of the government as I found it. I might have encouraged the resolution which the gentlemen had taken not to execute the new covenants which prohibited the receipt of presents and, although I had executed the covenants myself, I might have contrived to return to England with an immense fortune, infamously added to the one before honourably obtained. 2. Finding my powers disputed, I might in despair have given up the commonwealth, and have left Bengal without making an effort to save it. Such a conduct would have been deemed the effect of folly and cowardice. 3. The third path was intricate. Dangers and difficulties were on every side. But I resolved to pursue it. In short, I was determined

Most of the Evidence was supplied in the minutes and proceedings of the Committee; much was furnished by the avowal of the parties themselves. *Life*, ii. 222.—W

to do my duty to the public, although I should incur the odium of the whole settlement The welfare of the Company required a vigorous exertion, and I took the resolution of cleansing the Augean Stable"¹

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CHAP VII.

1765

Another circumstance deserves to be mentioned, of which Lord Clive takes no notice in his speech, though on other occasions it is not forgotten, that without the formation of the Select Committee, he would, as Governor, have enjoyed only a shadow, or at best a small fragment of power In his letter to the Directors, dated the 20th of February, in which he describes the transactions of the first five months of his new administration, he says, "The gentlemen in Council of late years at Bengal, seem to have been actuated, in every consultation, by a very obstinate and mischievous spirit The office of Governor has been in a manner hunted down, stripped of its dignity, and then divided into sixteen shares,"—the number of persons of whom the board consisted. "Two paths," he observes, in nearly the same language as was afterwards used in his speech, "were evidently open to me the one smooth, and strewn with abundance of rich advantages that might easily be picked up, the other untrodden, and every step opposed with obstacles I might have taken charge of the government upon the same footing on which I found it, that is, I might have enjoyed the name of Governor, and have suffered the honour, importance, and dignity of the post to continue in their state of annihilation I might have contented myself as others had before me, with being a cipher, or, what is little better, the first among sixteen equals and I might have allowed this passive conduct to be attended with the usual douceur of sharing largely with the rest of the gentlemen in all donations, perquisites, &c, arising from the absolute government and disposal of all places in the revenues of this opulent kingdom, by which means I might soon have acquired an immense addition to my fortune, notwithstanding the obligations in the new covenants, for the man who can so easily get over the bar of conscience as to receive presents after the execution of them, will not scruple to make use of any evasions that may protect him from the consequences The settlement, in general, would thus have been my friends, and only the

¹ Speech, ut supra, p 4

BOOK IV natives of the country my enemies." It deserves to be
 CHAP VII remarked, as twice declared by this celebrated Governor
 1763. that the covenants against the receipt of presents afforded
 no effectual security and might be violated, by the con-
 nivance and participation of the presiding individuals, to
 any amount. It follows, as a pretty necessary consequence,
 that independent of that connivance they might in many
 instances be violated to a considerable amount.

The language in which Clive describes the corruption of
 the Company's government and the conduct of their
 servants, at this era, ought to be received with caution
 and, doubtless, with considerable deductions; though it is
 an historical document, or rather a matter of fact, sin-
 gularly curious and important. "Upon my arrival, he
 tells the Directors, I am sorry to say I found your affairs
 in a condition so nearly desperate, as would have alarmed
 any set of men, whose sense of honour and duty to their
 employers had not been estranged by the too-eager pursuit
 of their own immediate advantages. The sudden, and
 among many the unwarrantable acquisition of riches, had
 introduced luxury in every shape, and in its most per-
 nicious excess. These two enormous evils went hand in
 hand together through the whole presidency infecting
 almost every member of each department. Every inferior
 seemed to have grasped at wealth, that he might be
 enabled to assume that spirit of profusion, which was now
 the only distinction between him and his superior. Thus
 all distinction ceased and every rank became, in a manner
 upon an equality. Nor was this the end of the mischief
 for a contest of such a nature among our servants neces-
 sarily destroyed all proportion between their wants and
 the honest means of satisfying them. In a country where
 money is plenty where fear is the principle of government,
 and where your arms are ever victorious, it is no wonder
 that the lust of riches should readily embrace the pro-
 fered means of its gratification, or that the instruments of
 your power should avail themselves of their authority

This conclusion is scarcely justified by the premises. Clive, in the first
 instance, intimates that he might have done what had been already done by
 the Committee, delay the execution of the covenants until his own fortune had
 been made, and in the second case he asserts that an individual who violated
 the covenants would be ready to urge any plea whatever in mitigation of the
 consequences. He gives no reason to infer that in other cases breach of the
 covenants could be attempted with impunity.—W

and proceed even to extortion in those cases where simple BOOK IV.
corruption could not keep pace with then rapacity CHAP VII
Examples of this sort, set by superiors, could not fail
of being followed in a proportionable degree by inferiors
The evil was contagious, and spread among the civil and
military, down to the writer, the ensign, and the free mer-
chant"¹ The language of the Directors held pace with
that of the Governor In their answer to the letter from
which this extract is taken, they say, "We have the
strongest sense of the deplorable state to which our affairs
were on the point of being reduced, from the corruption
and rapacity of our servants, and the universal depravity
of manners throughout the settlement The general re-
laxation of all discipline and obedience, both military and
civil, was hastily tending to a dissolution of all government
Our letter to the Select Committee expresses our sen-
timents of what has been obtained by way of donation,
and to that we must add, that we think the vast fortunes
acquired in the inland trade have been obtained by a series
of the most tyrannic and oppressive conduct that ever was
known in any age or county"²

The letters from the Court of Directors, commanding
the immediate and total abandonment of the inland trade,
and the execution of the new covenants against the receipt
of presents, had arrived on the 24th of January, 1765, pre-
vious to the formation of the treaty with Nujum-ad-dowla
Yet so far was the inland trade from being abandoned, that
the unlimited exercise of it, free from all duties except two
and a half per cent upon the article of salt, and along with
that unlimited exercise, the prohibition, or what amounted

¹ Letter, dated Calcutta, 30th September, 1765, from Lord Clive to the
Court of Directors, Third Report of Committee, 1772, Appendix, No 73 In
the letter of the same date from the Select Committee, which was merely
another letter from Clive, by whose nod the other Members of the Committee
were governed, they express themselves bound "to lay open to the view of
the Directors a series of transactions too notoriously known to be suppressed,
and too affecting to their interest, to the national character, and to the ex-
istence of the Company in Bengal, to escape unnoticed and uncensured,—
transactions which seem to demonstrate that every spring of this government
was smeared with corruption, that principles of rapacity and oppression
universally prevailed, and that every spark of sentiment and public spirit
was lost and extinguished in the unbounded lust of unmerited wealth"
Ib App No 86 —M

That many of their charges were not ill founded, is manifest from the
Minutes of Council quoted in Vansittart's Narrative, and from Johnstone's
vindication of himself in his Letter to the Proprietors London, 1766 —W

² Report, ut supra, Appendix, No 74

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to the prohibition, of all other traders, the exaction of oppressive duties, from which the English were exempt, had been inserted, as leading articles, in the treaty. Again, as to what regarded the covenants, not only had presents, upon the accession of Nujum-ad-dowla been received, with unabated alacrity in defiance of them but they remained unexecuted to that very hour. The Committee of the House of Commons could not discover from the records that the Governor had so much as brought them under the consultation of the Council Board ¹ and it is certain that no notice whatsoever had been communicated to the other servants of the Company that any such engagements were required.

The execution of the covenants, as a very easy and simple transaction, was one of the earliest of the measures of the Committee. They were signed, first by the Members of the Council, and the servants on the spot and afterwards transmitted to the armies and factories, where they were immediately executed by everybody with one remarkable exception. General Carnac, when they arrived, distributed them to his officers, among whom the signature met with no evasion. But General Carnac himself, on the pretence that they were dated several months previous to the time at which intimation of them was conveyed to him, forbore privately to execute his own. A few weeks afterwards, upon his return to Calcutta, he signed it, indeed, without any scruple but, in the interval, he had received a present of two lacs of rupees from the reduced and impoverished Emperor.

¹ In Letter of Clive to General Carnac, of the 6th May he says the Council had left to the Committee the getting the covenants signed, which they say is of such consequence, that they cannot think of settling anything shall about them until Lord Clive's arrival. *Life of Clive.* Johnstone, one of the Council, and an active agent in the whole business of the presents, gives rather different account. "It is true he says, the covenants had arrived before the death of Meer Jaffer, who was not at that time thought to be in any danger of dying; I was not at the Council when they arrived, nor at any time after till I was called down to assist their deliberation upon the event of the Nabe's death. The covenants never were offered to me, and I certainly could not be bound by covenants which I not only did not sign, but never was even required to sign. I have heard from the gentlemen of the Council, that their reason for not signing the covenants was, that the regulation appeared to them so new and extraordinary and seemed liable to so many objections, that they did propose to send home remonstrances against it, setting forth the reasons for judging the regulation unexpedient and improper." *Johnstone's Letter to the Proprietors, 63.—W*

² This transaction is not accurately stated. General Carnac's objection to sign the covenant was perfectly reasonable. As it would have bound him to

The Nabob, Nujum-ad-dowla, hastened to Calcutta, upon the arrival of Clive, and being exceedingly displeased with restraints imposed upon him, presented a letter of complaints Mohammed Reza Khan, whose appointment to office of Naib Subah was the most offensive to the Nabob of all the hard conditions to which he had been compelled to submit, had given presents on account of his elevation to the amount of nearly twenty lacks of rupees. There was nothing, in this, unusual or surprising, but the Nabob, who was eager to obtain the ground of an accusation against a man whose person and office were alike odious to him, complained of it as a dilapidation of his treasury. The servants of the Company, among whom the principal part of the money was distributed, were those who had the most strongly contested the authority of Clive's Committee, and they seem to have excited, by that opposition, a very warm resentment. The accusation was treated as a matter of great and serious importance. Some of the native officers engaged in the negotiation of the presents, though required only for the purpose of evidence, were put under arrest. A formal investigation was instituted. It was alleged that threats had been used to extort the gifts. And the Committee pronounced certain facts to be proved, but in their great forbearance reserved the decision to the Court of Directors. The servants, whose conduct was arraigned, solemnly denied the charge of using terror or force, and it is true that their declaration was opposed by only the testimony of a few natives, whose veracity is always questionable when they have the smallest interest to depart from the truth ¹ who in the

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the observance of a law of which he did not know the existence, and which he would have violated unwittingly, having between the date of the covenant and its reaching him, avowedly received a present of 70 000 rupees from the Bulwant Sinh. There was no intention of evading its prospective operation, as the interval was short before he did sign it, and the General declared in his evidence before the Committee of the House, that from the moment he was publicly apprised of the Company's pleasure on the subject, he considered himself equally bound by the covenant, whether he signed it or not. With regard to the two lacks of rupees, said to have been received by him from the King, after he knew of the covenants, the charge is untrue. General Carnac declined accepting it without the permission of the Governor and Council, to whom, therefore, the King wrote to request that their permission might be granted. The Council referred it to the Court of Directors, and it finally received, therefore, it was with their approbation. Appen 3rd Report, 1773, p 390 —W

¹ There is little reason to question the veracity of such men as Mohammed Reza, Jaggat Set, and other natives of respectability, who gave evidence in

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present case were not examined upon oath; were deeply interested in finding an apology for their own conduct, and had an exquisite feeling of the sentiments which prevailed towards the persons whom they accused in the breasts of those who now wielded the sceptre. There seems not, in reality to have been any difference in the applications for presents on this and on former occasions, except perhaps in some little ceremoniousness of manner. A significant expression escapes from Verelst, who was an actor in the scene "Mohammed Raza Khan," he says, affirms that these sums were not voluntarily given. This the English gentlemen deny. Perhaps the reader, who considers the increased power of the English, may regard this as a *verbal dispute*."

On the 25th of June Lord Clive departed from Calcutta, on a progress up the country for the purpose of forming a new arrangement with the Nabob for the government of the provinces, and of concluding a treaty of peace with Saja-ad-dowla the Vizir.

The first negotiation was of easy management. Whatever the Committee were pleased to command, Nujum-ad-dowla was constrained to obey. The whole of the power reserved to the Nabob, and lodged with the Naib Subah, was too great, they said, to be deposited in a single hand. They resolved, therefore, to associate the Raja Dooloob Ram, and Juggut Seet, the Hindu banker with Mohammed Raza Khan, in the superintendence of the Nabob's affairs. To preserve concord among these colleagues, it was determined to employ the vigilant control of a servant of the Company resident upon the spot. The Nabob was also now required to resign the whole of the revenues, and to make over the management of the Subahdaree, with every advantage arising from it, to the Company by whom an annual pension of fifty lacks of rupees, subject to the

the present transaction, and who had less inducement to depart from the truth than the Europeans, who are personally interested. The same inference is presently admitted in the significance attached to the words quoted from Verelst. The conflicting assertions were mere verbal dispute. The Europeans, it is true, did not employ force to compel the donations which they received; but there can be no doubt that they did intimidate their exorbitations, and that the young Nabob, and his advisers, dared not disappoint them.—W

Verelst's View of the English Government in Bengal, p. 24. For the sums received, and the rate they bore to the sums received by the managers of the preceding revolutions, see the preceding table p. 340

management of then three nominees, were to be allowed to himself. The final arrangement of these terms was notified to the Committee on the 28th of July, by a letter despatched from Moorsshedabad, whence, a few days before, Clive had proceeded on his journey.

The army had prosecuted the advantages gained over the Vizir, and at this time had penetrated far into the territories of Oude. The arrangement, however, which had been concluded with the Emperor, and in conformity with which the English were to receive the Gauzeepore country for themselves, and to bestow the dominions of Suja-ad-dowla on the Emperor, had been severely condemned by the Court of Directors. They denounced it, not only as a violation of their repeated instructions and commands not to extend the dominions of the Company, but as in itself an impolitic engagement, full of burden, but destitute of profit.¹ Lord Clive, and, what is the same thing, Lord Clive's Committee, professed a deep conviction of the wisdom of that policy (the limitation of dominion) which the Directors prescribed,² declaring, "that an influence maintained by force of arms was destructive of that commercial spirit which the servants of the Company ought to promote, oppressive to the country, and ruinous to the Company, whose military expenses had hitherto rendered fruitless their extraordinary success, and even the cession of rich provinces."³

After the battle of Buxar, the Vizir, who no longer considered his own dominions secure, had sent his women and treasures to Bareilly, the strong fort of a Rohilla chief, and, having gained as much time as possible by negotiations with the English, endeavoured to obtain assistance from Ghazi-ad-din Khan, from the Rohilla chiefs, and a body of Mahrattas, who were at that time under Mulhar Row, in the vicinity of Gualior. The Mahrattas, and Ghazi-ad-din Khan, with a handful of followers, the miserable re-

¹ See the Letters to Bengal, dated 24th Dec 1765, and 19th Feb 1766, in the Appendix to the Third Report.

² Clive, in his letter to the Directors, dated 30th Sept 1765, says, "My resolution was, and my hopes will always be, to confine our assistance, our conquest, and our possessions, to Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa to go further is in my opinion, a scheme so extravagantly ambitious and absurd, that no governor and council in their senses can ever adopt it, unless the whole scheme of the Company's interest be first entirely new modelled."

³ Instructions from the Select Committee to the President, dated 21st June, 1765, and their Letter to General Carnac, dated 1st July.

BOOK IV mains of his former power, had, in reality joined him.
 CHAP VII. But the Rohillas had amused him with only deceitful promises and he had been abandoned even by Sumroo who, with a body of about 300 Europeans of various nations, and a few thousand Sepoys, was negotiating for service with the Jaats.

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The English had detached two battalions of Sepoys, which took possession of Lucknow the capital of Oude, and made an attempt upon the fortress of Chunar the strength of which enabled the garrison to make a successful resistance when the preparations of Suja-ad-dowla induced Sir Robert Fletcher, on whom, till the arrival of Carnar, after the departure of Sir Hector Munro, the command of the troops had devolved, to endeavour to anticipate that Nabob by taking the important fortress of Allahabad. Nujuf Khan, as a partisan of the Emperor had joined the English with his followers from Bundelcund, and being well acquainted with the fortress, pointed out the weakest part. It was speedily breached and the garrison, too ir- resolute to brave a storm, immediately surrendered. Soon after this event General Carnar arrived, and took the command of the army. The situation of the enemy which rendered their designs uncertain, puzzled, for a time, the General who over-estimated their strength, and was afraid of leaving the frontiers exposed. Having received undoubted intelligence that the enemy had begun to march on the Corah road and suspecting that an attack was designed upon Sir Robert Fletcher who commanded a separate corps in the same direction he made some forced marches to effect a junction with that commander; and, having joined him, advanced with united forces towards the enemy. On the 3d of May a battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Corah or rather a skirmish, for by the absence of the Rohillas, and the weakness of Ghari-ad-din Khan, the force of the Vixir was inconsiderable, and he was still intimidated by remembrance of Buxar. The Mahrattas, on whom he chiefly depended, were soon dispersed by the English artillery. The Vixir separated from them and they retired with precipitation towards the Jumna. Observing the English to remit the pursuit in order to watch the Vixir who made no attempt to join his allies, they ventured a second effort to enter Corah.

To stop their incursions the General resolved to drive them beyond the Jumma, crossed that river on the 22d, dislodged them from their post on the opposite side, and obliged them to retire to the hills

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The Vizir impelled, on the one side by the desperate state of his affairs, on the other by hopes of moderate treatment from the English, resolved to throw himself entirely upon their generosity, by placing his person in their hands. On the 19th of May, General Carnac received, written by the Nabob with his own hand, a letter, in which he informed that officer that he was on his way to meet him. The General received him with the highest marks of distinction, and all parties recommended a delicate and liberal treatment. The final settlement of the terms of pacification was reserved for the presence of Clive. As it was unanimously agreed, that it would cost the Company more to defend the Country of the Vizir, than it would yield in revenue, that Suja-ad-dowla was more capable of defending it than the Emperor, to whom it had been formerly promised, or than any other chief who could be set up, and that in the hands of the Vizir it might form a barrier against the Mahrattas and Afghans, it was determined to restore to him the whole of his dominions, with the exception of Allahabad and Corah, which were to be reserved to the Emperor.

When the first conference was held with the Vizir on the 2nd of August, he strongly expressed his gratitude for the extent of dominion which his conquerors were willing to restore, and readily agreed to the payment of fifty lacks of rupees demanded in compensation for the expenses of the war. but, when it was proposed to him to permit the English to trade, free from duties, and erect factories in his dominions, he represented so earnestly the abuses which, under the name of trade, the Company's servants and their agents had perpetrated in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and expressed with so much vehemence his apprehension of disputes, and the impossibility they would create of long preserving the blessings of peace, that Clive agreed, in the terms of the treaty, to omit the very names of trade and factories.

The Raja Bulwant Sing, who held, as dependencies of the Subah of Oude, the Zemindarees of Banares and Gau-

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the 8th of February should remain in force until a more equitable and satisfactory plan could be formed and adopted and, as it was impossible for them to frame such a plan at home, destitute as they were of the informations and lights necessary to guide them in settling such an important affair—the Committee were therefore ordered, as soon after the receipt of this letter as might be convenient, to consult the Nabob as to the manner of carrying on the inland trade, and thereupon to form a proper and equitable plan for that purpose and transmit the same to the Directors, accompanied by such explanations, observations, and remarks, as might enable them to give their sentiments and directions thereupon in a full and explicit manner —And in doing this, as before observed, they were to have a particular regard to the interest and entire satisfaction of the Nabob. It was agreed, in general consultation at Fort William, on the 28th of January 1765, to defer all proceedings on this order till the arrival of Lord Clive and in the mean time, in defiance of both letters, the course of the inland trade remained undisturbed.

One important circumstance in the letter of the 1st of June, the Directors themselves interpreted one way their servants in India chose to interpret another. The servants inferred that the letter empowered them not only to contrive a plan, but also to put it in practice. It was maintained on the other hand, that the letter only authorized them to devise a plan, and transmit the account of it to the Directors. The letter as usual, was vague and ambiguous and those who had to act upon it, at so vast a distance, preferred, as might have been expected, the interpretation which best suited their own interests.

It is worthy of particular remark, that Lord Clive, as he declares to the Directors themselves, framed the plan which was afterwards adopted, during his voyage to India. But, as he could not then have any lights which he had not in England, he might, unless he had determined not to be governed by the Directors, have opened to them his project before he departed and have allowed to his masters the privilege of deciding.

It is not less worthy of remark, that Clive and the other Members of the Select Committee—Carnac ex

cepted, who had not left the army—formed a partnership before the beginning of June, for buying up large quantities of salt, that all the purchases were made during the month of June, and that in nine months the parties realized a profit, including interest, of about forty-five per cent. In apology for Clive, it was stated, that he brought out with him three gentlemen from England, Mr Strachey, his secretary, Mr Maskelyne, an old friend and fellow-servant of the Company, and Mr Ingham, his surgeon, and that for the sake of making a fortune to them he engaged in that suspicious transaction. If a proceeding, however, is in its own nature shameful, there is but little saved, when the emolument is only made to go into the pocket of a connexion¹

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On the 10th of August, after these purchases had for some time been completed, and after certain inquiries had been made respecting the usual prices of salt in different places, it was resolved, in a Select Committee composed of only Mr Sumner and Mr Verelst, That a monopoly should be formed of the trade in salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, to be carried on exclusively for the benefit of the superior servants of the Company. After several consultations, the following rules were adopted. That, deducting a duty to the Company, computed to produce 100,000*l* per annum, the profits should be divided among three classes of proprietors. That, in the first class, should be allowed—to the governor, five shares, to the second in council, three shares, to the general, three shares, ten gentlemen of council, each two shares, two colonels, each two shares—in all thirty-five. That, in the second class, consisting of one chaplain, fourteen senior merchants, and three lieutenant-colonels, in all eighteen persons, two-thirds of one share should be granted to each, or twelve shares to the whole. In the third class, consisting of thirteen factors, four majors, four first surgeons at the presidency, two first surgeons at the army, one secretary to the council, one sub-accountant, one Persian translator, and

¹ There was nothing "shameful" in the nature of the transaction. The wisdom of the scheme may be questioned, but it was adopted deliberately and openly, as the only practicable expedient of providing for the indisputable necessity of giving liberal pay to responsible officers, whilst depriving them of the opportunity of remunerating themselves, and whilst the only legitimate source of public recompense, the public treasury was yet unopened

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one sub-export-warehouse-keeper, in all twenty-seven persons, one-third of a share should be distributed to each, or nine shares to the whole. That a committee of four, empowered to make by-laws, borrow money and determine the amount of capital, should be appointed for the entire management of the concern: that the purchases should be made by contract. That the goods should be conveyed by the agents of the association to certain fixed places, and there sold to the native merchants and retailers at established and invariable prices. That the exclusive power of making these purchases should be ensured to the association for one year. And that European agents should be allowed to conduct the business of the society in different parts of the country.

In defence of this scheme, it was urged, that by the prohibition of presents, and the growing share of the export and import trade engrossed by the Company's investment, the pay of their servants was reduced to the means of a bare subsistence: that besides the hardship of this policy the wisdom was very defective, since it was absurd to suppose that men deprived of the means of enriching themselves by legitimate, would abstain from illegitimate means, when placed to a boundless extent in their power; that a too rapid enriching of their servants, by enabling them to hurry to England, and leaving none but inexperienced youths to conduct their affairs, was ruinous to their interests: and that, by the admirable arrangements of the trade society a proper fortune was secured to those who had attained a certain station in the service, without incurring the danger of sending them home enriched at too early a period.

Upon these arguments, one reflection cannot be withheld, because the occasions for its application are exceed-

It was wholly inadequate as a means of subsistence. Johnstone, in his discussion of the unwillingness of the Council to sign the covenant, very fairly urges the insufficiency of the salaries of the Company's servants; the allowance of a councillor he writes, is not more than £300, of a factor 1400, of a writer as lately increased 1200; but the rent of a very indifferent house in Calcutta, is 3000 nearly the whole of even a councillor's salary. Letter to the Proprietors. So Clive, in his speech to the House of Commons, observes, "The salary of a councillor is 1 (lakh) scarcely 3000 per annum, and it is well known that he cannot live in that country for less than 20000. Life, £1100. As long as the salaries of the civil and military services left the Company's servants in straits, it was monstrous to expect that they would not use the power they possessed of providing for their own necessities, and for something more — W

ingly numerous, and because it appears, unhappily, to be not unfrequently made It is contrary to experience, that by deriving large emoluments from an office, the person who holds it will be less eager to grasp at any unlawful gains which are within his reach The avidity for more is not in general diminished by the amount of what is possessed A trifling sum will doubtless lose something of its apparent magnitude in the eye of a man of wealth, but the vast sums are those alone which are of much importance, and they, we find, are as resistless a temptation to the rich as to the poor The prevalence of the idea that satiating the servants of the public with wealth is a secret for rendering them honest, only proves how little the art of government has borrowed as yet from the science of human nature If, with immense emoluments, a door is left open to misconduct, the misconduct is but the more ensured, because the power of the offender affords him a shield against both popular contempt and legal chastisement If the servants of the Company, as Clive and his Committee so positively affirmed, had it in their power, and in their inclination, to pillage and embezzle, when their incomes were small, the mere enlargement of their incomes would add to the power, and could not much detract from the inclination ¹

At the time of these proceedings, the Select Committee were deprived of the shelter even of an ambiguous expression, and knew that they were acting in express defiance of the wishes and commands of their superiors Under date the 15th of February, 1765, the Directors had written in the following terms "In our letters of the 8th February, and 1st June last, we gave our sentiments and directions very fully in respect to the inland trade of

¹ This reflection is not founded upon so careful a consideration of human nature as might have been expected from our author Although cases of insatiable cupidity may from time to time occur, yet in general a man who has in his hands the means of securing, at no very remote period, a moderate fortune for himself and his family, is removed from the temptation of accelerating that period by illicit gains He is also likely to be deterred from yielding to the temptation by the amount of loss which he hazards To him who has nothing, the consequences of exposure offer little terror, to him who has much, disgrace, and eventually diminished wealth, will be very reluctantly risked All consideration of moral principle is omitted in the text, but in the instance of insufficient means, integrity is manifestly powerfully assailed, whilst in that of competent means it is strengthened and confirmed That these views are sound is established by events, and the generally unimpeached integrity of the Company's servants in India has

BOOK IV Bengal;—we now enforce the same in the strongest manner and positively insist that you take no steps whatever towards renewing this trade, without our express leave for which reason you must not fail to give us the fullest information upon the subject, agreeably to our above-mentioned directions.

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Having thus established the Private-trade Society the Committee proceeded to introduce other regulations which the state of affairs appeared to require. It had been a common practice with members of the Council, instead of remaining at the Board for the business of the Presidency to receive nomination to the chiefship of factories, as often as additional means of accumulating money were there placed in their hands. To this practice the Committee, on very good grounds, resolved to put an end.

We are convinced, they said, "by very late experience that the most flagrant oppressions may be wantonly committed in those employments, by members of the Board, which would not be tolerated in junior servants; and that the dread and awe annexed to their station, as councillors, has too frequently screened them from complaints which would be lodged without fear or scruple against inferior servants. Yet, with this experience before them, they recommend great emoluments as a security against corruption. The Committee further remarked, that not only the business, which was thus engrossed by Members of the Board, could be as well transacted by a junior servant, at much less expense but that other inconveniences, still more pernicious, were incurred that by the absence of so many members of the board, it had been necessary to increase their numbers from twelve to sixteen that by the regular departure to the out-settlements of those Members of the Council who had the greatest influence to procure their own appointment, there was so rapid a change of councillors at the board, where only the youngest and most inexperienced remained, that the business of the Presidency was obliged to be conducted by men deficient

followed the elevation of their pay in proportion to the responsibility of their stations, and their reasonable prospects of returning with sufficiency to their native country.—W

The emoluments in this case, it is to be remembered, were in their very nature fertile sources of oppression; they were indefinite, limited by no bounds except the power and avarice of the individual.—W

in the knowledge and experience necessary for carrying BOOK IV.
it on

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Another measure, productive of considerable irritation and disturbance, was promoted by Clive. The rapid acquisition of riches in Bengal had recently sent so many of the superior servants, along with their fortunes, to Europe, that few remained to fill up the vacancies in the Council except either men very young and inexperienced, or those whom Clive described as tainted with the corruptions which had vitiated the administration. The Committee say, "It is with the utmost regret we think it incumbent on us to declare, that in the whole list of your junior merchants, there are not more than three or four gentlemen whom we could possibly recommend to higher stations at present." They accordingly forbore to supply the vacancies which occurred in the Council, and resolved upon calling a certain number of servants at the other presidencies, to supersede those in Bengal. They paid to their employers the compliment of recommending the measure to their consideration, but waited not for their decision, for, in two months from the date of their letter, four gentlemen arrived from Madras, and soon after took their seats at the Board.¹

Among the circumstances most strongly recommended to Lord Clive by the Company, was the reduction of the military expenses, which absorbed all their revenues, and

¹ The effects of this measure are thus described by the Committee themselves. "As soon as this measure became known by reports from Madras, the young gentlemen of the settlement had set themselves up for Judges of the propriety of our conduct, and the degree of their own merit." It is to be observed that by "young gentlemen," here is to be understood all those, without exception, who were not of the council, that is, all those whose interests were affected by this unusual proceeding, and they were even joined by several Members of the Council. That Clive should treat it as unendurable in such persons to express an unfavourable opinion upon his conduct, or upon a treatment which they naturally regarded as highly injurious to themselves, is in the genuine strain of power, both in India and Europe. The Committee continue "They have not only set their hands to the memorial of complaint, but entered into associations unbecoming at their years, and destructive of that subordination, without which no government can stand, all visits to the President are forbidden, all invitations from him and the Members of the Committee are to be slighted. the gentlemen called down by our authority from Madras are to be treated with neglect and contempt." Even the Secretary to the Council, distinguishing himself in this association, was dismissed from his office, and suspended the service. The Committee adds, "You will be astonished to observe at the head of this list, two members of your Council who subscribe their names in testimony of their sense of the injustice done to the younger servants." Letter from the Select Committee to the Directors, dated 1st January, 1766.

BOOK IV condemn to death. Each officer executed a penalty bond
 CHAP. VII of 500*l.*, not to accept his commission till double batta
 1766. was restored. A subscription was raised among them to
 establish a fund for the indemnification of those who might
 suffer in the prosecution of the enterprise and to this, it
 was understood, that the gentlemen in the civil service,
 and even those at the Presidency, largely contributed.

When the army was in this situation, a body of between fifty and sixty thousand Mahrattas appeared on the frontiers of Corah, about one hundred and fifty miles from Allahabad. To watch their motions, the brigade remaining in garrison at that city was ordered to encamp at Surajepore. Early in April, Lord Clive, accompanied by General Carnac, had repaired to Moorshedabad, in order to regulate the collections of the revenue for the succeeding year to receive from Suja-ad-dowla the balance of his payments, and to hold a congress of the native chiefs or princes, who were disposed to form an alliance for mutual defence against the Mahrattas. On the 18th, was transmitted to him, from the Select Committee, a remonstrance received from the officers of the third brigade, expressed in very high language, which he directed to be answered with little respect. It was not till late in the evening of the 28th; when he received a letter from Sir Robert Fletcher the commanding officer at Mongheer that Clive had the slightest knowledge or suspicion of a conspiracy so extensive, and of which the complicated operations had been going on for several months.

At Bankipore, a considerable part of the cantonments had been burnt down and a Court Martial was held upon one of the officers, accused of having been the voluntary cause. The act proceeded from a quarrel between him and another officer who attempted to take away his commission by force and, upon exploring the reason of this extraordinary operation, the existence of the combination was disclosed. The commanding officer immediately despatched an account of the discovery to Sir Robert Fletcher at Mongheer who was by no means unacquainted with the proceedings in his own brigade, but was only now induced

That is of the Brigade stationed at Bankypore, not, as might be supposed, from the previous specification of the Brigades, that which was quartered at Allahabad, which was the second, not the third Brigade.—W

to give intimation of them to his superiors. It was the plan of the officers to resign their commissions on the 1st of June, but this discovery determined them, with the exception of the brigade at Allahabad, to whom information could not be forwarded in time, to execute their purpose a month earlier.

Clive at first could not allow himself to believe that the combination was extensive, or that any considerable number of men, the whole of whose prospects in life were founded upon the service, would have resolution to persevere in a scheme, by which the danger of exclusion from it, not to speak of other consequences, was unavoidably incurred. It was one of those scenes, however, in which he was admirably calculated to act with success. Resolute and daring, fear never turned him aside from his purposes, or deprived him of the most collected exertion of his mind in the greatest emergencies. To submit to the violent demands of a body of armed men, was to resign the government. He had a few officers in his suite upon whom he could depend, a few more, he concluded might yet be found at Calcutta, and the factories, and some of the fine merchants might accept of commissions. The grand object was to preserve the common soldiers in order and obedience, till a fresh supply of officers from the other Presidencies could be obtained.

He remained not long without sufficient evidence that almost all the officers of all the three brigades were involved in the combination, and that their resignations were tendered. Directions were immediately sent to the commanding officers, to find, if possible, the leaders in the conspiracy, to arrest those officers whose conduct appeared the most dangerous, and detain them prisoners, above all things to secure the obedience of the Sepoys and black commanders, if the European troops should appear to be infected with the disobedience of their officers. Letters were despatched to the Council at Calcutta, and the Presidency at Fort St. George, to make the greatest exertions for a supply of officers, and Clive himself hastened towards Mongheer. On the road he received a letter from Colonel Smith, who commanded at Allahabad, informing him that the Mahrattas were in motion, and that Ballajee Row was at Calpee with 60,000 men

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On the 3d of September the Select Committee proceeded to arrange the business of the inland trade society for another year. The Company in their letter of the 19th of February already received, had declared that they considered the continuance of this trade "as an express breach and violation of their orders, and as a determined resolution to sacrifice the interests of the Company and the peace of the country to lucrative and selfish views." Pronouncing, "that every servant concerned in that trade stood guilty of a breach of his covenants, and of their orders, they added, "Whatever government may be established, or whatever unforeseen circumstances may arise, it is our resolution to prohibit, and we do absolutely forbid, this trade of salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, and of all articles that are not for export and import, according to the spirit of the phirmaund, which does not in the least give any latitude whatsoever for carrying on such an inland trade and moreover we shall deem every European concerned therein, directly or indirectly guilty of a breach of his covenants and direct that he be forthwith sent to England, that we may proceed against him accordingly.

Notwithstanding these clear and forcible prohibitions, the Committee proceeded to a renewal of the monopoly as if the orders of the Directors deserved not a moment's regard. Clive, in his Minute, turned them carelessly aside, observing that when the Company sent them, they could not have the least idea of that favourable change in the affairs of those provinces, whereby the interest of the Nabob, with regard to salt, is no longer immediately concerned." As a reason against lodging the government of India in hands at the distance of half the circumference of the globe, the remark would merit attention for the disobedience of servants to those who employed them, it is no justification at all because, extended as far as it is applicable, it rendered the servants of the Company independent and constituted them masters of India.

agreement with the Committee of Trade to sell at fixed rate of profit, and if was the excess upon the agreed rate, which they were, somewhat arbitrarily but not unjustly compelled to refund.—W

A discretionary power to suspend the execution of the orders of the home authorities, so as to afford them the opportunity of considering circumstances of which they may not have been apprised, is very different thing from positive disobedience, and is indispensable to the due administration of government in India. It still rests with the authorities in England to consider and or enforce the instructions they have sent out.—W

One change alone, of any importance, was introduced upon the regulations of the preceding year the salt, instead of being conveyed to the interior, was to be sold at Calcutta, and the several places of manufacture The transportation of the commodity to distant places, by the agents of the society, was attended with great trouble and expense by selling it immediately at the places of manufacture, so much was saved and by reserving the distribution to the merchants of the country, a pretended boon was granted to the natives A maximum price was fixed, and, on the 8th of September, a Committee of Trade was formed, with directions for carrying the plan into execution

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CHAP VII

1766

No sooner was this arrangement formed, than Clive brought forward a proposition for prohibiting all future Governors and Presidents from any concern whatsoever in trade On the 19th of the very same month, in a Minute presented to the Select Committee, he represented, that, "Where such immense revenues are concerned, where power and authority are so enlarged, and where the eye of justice and equity should be ever watchful, a Governor ought not to be embarrassed with private business He ought to be free from every occupation in which his judgment can possibly be biassed by his interest" He, therefore, proposed, that the Governor should receive a commission of one and one-eighth per cent upon the revenues, and in return should take a solemn and public oath, and bind himself in a penalty of 150,000*l* to derive no emolument or advantage from his situation as Governor of Bengal, beyond this commission, with the usual salary and perquisites and a covenant to this effect was formally executed by him That good reasons existed for precluding the Governor from such oblique channels of gain, both as giving him sinister interests, and engrossing his time, it is not difficult to perceive that the same reasons should not have been seen to be good, for precluding, also, the members of the Select Committee and the Council, might, though it need not, excite our surprise

On the 8th of December, letters arrived from England, dated the 17th of May, addressed both to Clive and the Committee In these documents, the Directors pronounced the inland trade society to be a violation of their repeated

BOOK IV his officers and in his name; and all transactions with
 CHAP VII. foreign powers were covered with the mask of his authority. For the benefit of certain false pretexts which imposed upon nobody the government of the country as far as regarded the protection of the people, was dissolved. Neither the Nabob nor his officers dared to exert any authority against the English, of whatsoever injustice and oppression they might be guilty. The gomastahs, or Indian agents employed by the Company's servants, not only practised unbounded tyranny but, overawing the Nabob and his highest officer converted the tribunals of justice themselves into instruments of cruelty making them inflict punishment upon the very wretches whom they oppressed, and whose only crime was their not submitting with sufficient willingness to the insolent rapacity of those subordinate tyrants. While the ancient administration of the country was rendered inefficient, this suspension of the powers of government was supplied by nothing in the regulations of the English. Beyond the ancient limits of the Presidency the Company had no legal power over the natives beyond these limits, the English themselves were not amenable to the British laws and the Company had no power of coercion except by sending persons out of the country a remedy always inconvenient, and, except for very heinous offences, operating too severely upon the individual to be willingly applied. The natural consequence was, that the crimes of the English and their agents were in a great measure secured from punishment, and the unhappy natives lay prostrate at their feet. As the revenue of the government depended upon the productive operations of the people and as a people are productive only in proportion to the share of their own produce which they are permitted to enjoy this wretched administration could not fail, in time, to make itself felt in the Company's exchequer¹. Other sources were not

Governor Verelst, in his letter to the Directors, immediately before his resignation, dated 18th December 1760, says, "We miserably broke down the barrier between us and government, and the native grew uncertain where his offences was due. Such divided and compromised authority gave rise to oppressions and intrigues, unknown at any other period; the officers of government caught the infection, and, being removed from any immediate control, proceeded with still greater audacity. In the meantime, we repeatedly and peremptorily failed to avow any public authority over the effects of government in our own names, &c."

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 CHAP. VII.

1767

number of years and during the administrations of Mr. Verelst and Mr. Cartier who occupied the chair till the elevation of Mr. Hastings, and were calm, unambitious men, few events of historical importance occurred. It was during a period like this, if ever that the Company ought to have replenished their exchequer and to have attained financial prosperity. During this period, on the other hand, financial difficulties were continually increasing and rose at last to a height which threatened them with immediate destruction. Doubtless, the anarchical state, in which, by the double government, the provinces were placed, contributed powerfully to impoverishment but the surplus revenue, with which the people of England were taught to delude themselves, was hindered by more permanent causes. Though no body should believe it, India, like other countries, in which the industrious arts are in their infancy and in which law is too imperfect to render property secure, has always been poor. It is only the last perfection of government which enables a government to keep its own expense from absorbing every thing which it is possible to extract from the people and the government of India, under the East India Company by a delegation of servants at the distance of half the circumference of the globe from control, was most unhappily circumstanced for economy. On a subject like this, authority is useful. With regard to the increase of the expenses, says Clive, I take the case to stand thus. Before the Company became possessed of the dewannee, their agents had other ways of making fortunes. Presents were open to them. They are now at an end. It was expedient for them to find some other channel—the channel of the civil and military charges. Every man now who is permitted to make a bill, makes a fortune.”

During the year 1767 a march of the Abdallee Shah towards Delhi, excited the attention, though not much the alarm, of the Presidency. After some contests with the Seiks, and overrunning a few of the provinces, that powerful Chief returned to his own country. An expedition was undertaken for the restoration of the Raja of Nepal, who had been dispossessed by his neighbour the

BOOK IV Early in the year 1768, arrived the Company's peremp-
 CHAP VII. tory order for abolishing entirely the trade of their ser-
 1768. vants in salt, and other articles of interior traffic for
 laying it open, and confining it to the natives and for
 restricting their servants entirely to the maritime branches
 of commerce.

The commission of one and one-eighth per cent. upon the dewannee revenues, which by the Select Committee had been settled upon the Governor as a compensation for relinquishing his share in the salt trade, was also commanded to cease. For as much, however as the income of their servants, if thus cut off from irregular sources of gain, was represented as not sufficiently opulent, the Company granted a commission of two and a half per cent. upon the net produce of the dewannee revenues, to be divided into 100 equal shares, and distributed in the following proportions to the Governor thirty-one shares to the second in Council, four and a half; to the rest of the Select Committee, not having a chiefship, each three and a half shares to the Members of the Council not having a chiefship, each one and a half to the Commander-in-Chief, seven and a half shares to Colonels each, two and a half Lieutenant-Colonels, each, one and a half and to Majors, three fourths. An additional pay was allotted to Captains, of three shillings, Lieutenants two shillings, and Ensigns one shilling per day.

Some uneasiness still continued with respect to the designs of Suja-ad-dowla, between whom and the Emperor considerable discordance prevailed. The directors had forwarded the most positive orders for recalling the brigade from Allahabad and for confining the operations of the Company's army entirely within the limits of the Company's territory. The Council thought it necessary to disobey and in their letter went so far as to say that they must express their great astonishment at such an absolute restriction without permitting them upon the

Past experience, they say has so impressed us with the idea of the necessity of confining our servants, and Europeans residing under our protection, within the ancient limits of our export and import trade, that we look on every innovation in the inland trade as an intrusion on the natural right of the natives of the country who now more particularly claim our protection; and we esteem it as much our duty to maintain this barrier between the two commercial rights, as to defend the provinces from foreign invasion. Letter from the Directors, dated 30th November 1767

spot to judge how far, from time and circumstances, it might be detrimental to their affairs" BOOK IV

CHAP. VII.

1768

The most important particular in the situation of the Company in Bengal was the growing scarcity of pecuniary means. In the letter from the Select Committee to the Court of Directors, dated 21st November, 1768, "You will perceive," they say, "by the state of your treasury, a total inability to discharge many sums which you are indebted to individuals for deposits in your cash, as well as to issue any part of the considerable advances required for the service of every public department. And you will no longer deem us reprehensible, if a decrease in the amount of your future investments, and a debasement of their quality, should prove the consequence."

By a correspondence between the Presidencies of Fort William and Fort St George, in the beginning of March, 1769, the dangerous consequences to be apprehended from the exhausted state of their treasuries, and the necessity of establishing a fund against future emergencies, were mutually explained and acknowledged. In two separate consultations, held by the President and Council at Fort William, in the months of May and August, the utility, or rather the indispensable necessity, of such a fund underwent a solemn discussion, and was pronounced to be without dispute. But as the expences of the government left no resource for the creation of it, except the diminution of the investment, or quantity of goods transmitted to the Company in England, they resolved upon that reduction, and limited to forty-five lacks the investment of the year.

Even this resource was in a very short time perceived to be insufficient. On the 23rd of October, a deficiency of 6,63,055 rupees appeared on the balance of receipts and disbursements, and the President and Council in their Minute declared, "That however the public might have been flattered, they could not flatter themselves, with any expectations from their revenue, and that the only expedient within their reach was to open their treasury doors for remittances"¹

¹ The President and Council of Fort William, in their letter (dated the 21st of March, 1769) to the President and Council of Fort St George, speak in pathetic terms of "the incontestible evidence they had transmitted to their

BOOK IV

CHAP. VII.

1763.

These remittances consisted chiefly of the money or fortunes of the individuals who had grown rich in the Company's service, and who were desirous of transmitting their acquisitions to Europe. Such persons were eager to pay their money to the Company's government in India, upon receiving an obligation for repayment from the Company in England in the language of commerce, for a bill upon the Company payable in England. The money thus received, in other words borrowed, was applied to the exigences of the service and by augmenting their resources, was always highly agreeable to the servants in India. The payment, however of these loans or bills in England was apt to become exceedingly inconvenient to the Directors. The sole fund out of which the payment could be made was the sale of the investment, or the goods transmitted to them from India and China. If the quantity of these goods was less in value than afforded a surplus equal to the amount of the bills which were drawn upon them they remained so far deficient in the ability to pay. And if the goods were sent in too exorbitant a quantity the market was insufficient to carry them off.

An opposition of interests was thus created between the governing part of the servants abroad, and the Court of Directors and Proprietors at home. For the facility of their operations, and the success of their government, it was of great importance for the servants to preserve a full treasury in India, secured by a small investment, and the receipt of money for bills. It was the interest of the Directors to have an ample supply of money at home, which on the other hand could only be produced by a large investment and a moderate transmission of bills. The Directors, accordingly had given very explicit instructions on this subject and in their letter of the 11th of November 1763, after acknowledging the growing deficiency of the funds in India, had said Nevertheless, we cannot suffer ourselves to be drawn upon to an unlimited amount, the state of the Company's affairs here not yet admitting us to answer large drafts upon us from India but should the exigency of your affairs require

honourable transfers of the exaggerated light in which their new acquired advantages had been placed, and the change of views which they expected them in consequence to adopt.

BOOK IV enabled⁹ Mysore to throw off its dependence upon that ancient monarchy its distance and other local circumstances saved it from subjection to any of the Mohammedan powers. It continued, therefore, till the period of Hyder's usurpation, under a pure Hindu government, and afforded a satisfactory specimen of the political institutions of the native Hindus. The arts of government were less understood in that, than in the Mohammedan districts of India. Hardly ever have mankind been united in considerable societies under a form of polity more rude, than that which has every where been found in those parts of India which remained purely Hindu.¹ At a period considerably prior to the rise of Hyder the government of Mysore had assumed that state, which, if we may judge by its own example, and that of the Mahratta, Hindu governments had a general tendency to assume. The Raja, or Monarch, was stripped of all power while a minister kept him a prisoner and governed absolutely in his name. At the time when the wars of the English in the Carnatic commenced, the powers of the Raja of Mysore were usurped by two brothers, named Deoraj, and Nunjeraj. It was this same Nunjeraj, whom the French were enabled to bring to their assistance at Trichinopoly and who there exhibited so many specimens of the rudeness of his people, and of his own ignorance and incapacity. And it was in the station of a subordinate officer in the service of this commander that Hyder Ali began his career.

Mohammed Beloll, the great grandfather of Hyder was a native of the Punjab, who came into the Deccan in the character of a fakir and, settling in the district of Calburga, about 110 miles in a north west direction from Hyderabad, acquired considerable property by the exercise of his religious talents. Mohammed Beloli had two sons, Mohammed Ali, and Mohammed Wulleo. They left their father's house, and travelling southward, became at Sera, revenue peons, or armed men, employed, according to Indian practice, in the forced collection of the taxes. Mohammed Ali died at Colar and Mohammed Wulleo, for the sake of his property expelled his widow and son, and drove them from his doors. The name of the son was

⁹ See the Institutions of the Mysore Government, in the instructive volume of Col. Wilks.

Futtuh Mohammed, the father of Hyder He obtained BOOK IV
 along with his mother, protection from a petty officer, CHAP VIII
 called a Naik of peons, by whom he was brought up, and
 employed as a peon, or common foot soldier, in the party
 under his command. Futtuh Mohammed found means to
 distinguish himself, and, in the service of the Nabob of
 Sera, became, first a Naik of peons, and afterwards the
 Fojedar, or military superintendent of a district But mis-
 fortune overtook his master The Nabob was dethroned,
 his family plundered, and Futtuh Mohammed lost his
 life in their defence He left two sons, the elder Shabas,
 the youngest Hyder, and a widow, who had a brother, the
 Naik of a few peons, in the service of a Killedar of Banga-
 lore With this man, the mother of Hyder sought, and,
 together with her sons, obtained protection. When Shabas,
 the elder of the brothers, grew towards manhood, he was
 recommended by his uncle to an officer in the service of
 the Raja of Mysore The youth quickly rose to distinc-
 tion, and obtained the command of 200 horse and 1000
 peons Hyder, till the age of twenty-seven, could be con-
 fined to no serious pursuit, but spent his life between the
 labours of the chase, and the pleasures of voluptuous in-
 dolence and riot He joined, however, the troops of
 Mysore, as a volunteer at the siege of Deonhully, the castle
 of a Polygar, about twenty-four miles north-east from
 Bangalore, which, in 1749, Nunjeraj undertook to reduce
 On this occasion the ardour, the courage, and the mental
 resources of Hyder, drew upon him the attention of the
 general, and, at the termination of the siege, he was not
 only raised to the command of fifty horse, and 200 peons,
 or foot, but was intrusted with the charge of one of the
 gates of the fortress

He continued to recommend himself with so much suc-
 cess to Nunjeraj, that, when the efforts of the English to
 establish their authority in Madura and Trivelly, in 1755,
 rendered precarious the possession of the fort of Dindegul,
 Hyder was chosen as the man on whom its defence could,
 with greatest security, repose It was situated on a high
 rock in the middle of a plain, at nearly an equal distance,
 of about fifty miles from Madura and Trichinopoly, and
 amid the confusions of the Carnatic had fallen into the
 hands of the Mysoreans about ten years before This ele-

BOOK IV and had it not happened, by a singular train of circum-
 stances, that he was opposed by the arms of a people,
 whose progress in knowledge and in the arts was far supe-
 rior to his own, he, and his son, would probably have
 extended their sway over the greater part of India.

1767

In prosecution of the design which Bessalut Jung had formed to render himself independent of Nizam Ali, he proceeded, about the month of June in 1761, to the reduction of Sera. This was a province, formerly governed by a Nabob, or deputy of the Subahder of the Deccan. It was now possessed by the Mahrattas. But the shock which the Mahratta power had sustained by the disaster of Paniput, inspired Bessalut Jung with the hope of making a conquest of Sera. By his approach to the territories of Hyder that vigilant chief was quickly brought near to watch his operations. Bessalut Jung was, by a short experience, convinced that his resources were unequal to his enterprise and as his elder brother was imprisoned by Nizam Ali, on the 18th of July his presence at the seat of his own government was urgently required. That the expedition might not appear to have been undertaken in vain, he made an offer to Hyder of the Nabobship of Sera, though yet unconquered, for three lacks of rupees and formally invested him with the office and title, under the name of Hyder Ali Khan Behauder which he afterwards bore. The allied chiefs united their armies, and, having speedily reduced the country to the obedience of Hyder took leave of each other about the beginning of the year 1762.

Hyder continued to extend his conquests over the two Bahpooas over Gooti, the territory of the Mahratta chieftain Morari Row received the submission of the Polygars of Raudroog, Harponelly and Chittledroog and early in 1763 he marched under the invitation of an impostor who pretended to be the young Raja of Bednore, to the conquest of that kingdom. The territory of Bednore includes the summit of that part of the range of western hills, which, at a height of from four to five thousand feet above the level of the sea, and for nine months of the year involved in rain and moisture, which clothe them with the most enormous trees, and the most profuse vegetation, overlook the provinces of Canara and Malabar

¹ Col. Wilks thinks he estimates the amount of it very low at 12,000,000/ sterling. More likely it was not a third of the sum. "The immense property," he calls it "of the most opulent commercial town of the East, and full of rich dwellings." The sound judgment of Col. Wilks generally preserves him, much better than Oriental gentlemen in general, from the strain of Eastern hyperbole. The richest commercial town of the East, neither a sea port, nor on any great line of communication, in a situation almost inaccessible on the top of unwholesome mountains! Besides, there is little opulence in any house in India, or in any shop. The chief articles of splendour is jewels, which almost always are carried away, or hid, upon the appearance of danger.

BOOK IV

CHAP. IX.

1769.

They accuse the Presidency of irresolution and incapacity and tell them that by the feebleness with which they had carried on the war and the pusillanimity with which they had made peace at the dictation of an enemy they had laid a foundation for the natives of Hindustan to think they may insult the Company at pleasure with impunity." Yet they pretended not, that a mutual renunciation of conquests was not better than a continuation of the war or that the vain boast of driving Hyder's light cavalry from the walls of Madras would not have been dearly purchased with the ravage of the city of Madras and the surrounding country. The Presidency affirm that they "were compelled to make peace for want of money to wage war. And the only imprudent article of the treaty in which, however there was nothing of humiliation or inconsistency with the train of the Company's policy was the reciprocation of military assistance because of this the evident tendency (a circumstance, however which seemed not ever to be greatly deprecated,) was, to embroil them with other powers.

CHAPTER IX.

Public opinion in England.—Proceedings in the India House and in Parliament.—Plan of Supervisors.—Plan of a King's Commissioner.—Increase of pecuniary Difficulties.—Dividend raised.—Company unable to meet their Obligations.—Parliamentary Inquiry.—Ministerial relief.—An Act, which changes the Constitution of the Company.—Tendency of the Change.—Financial and Commercial State.

THE affairs of the Company excited various and conflicting passions in England, and gave rise to measures of more than ordinary importance. The act of parliament having expired which limited the amount of dividend in

Letters to the Court of Directors, 23d March, 1770; *Reed's App.* p. 1418.
 For these transactions, besides the printed official documents, the well-informed, but not impartial author of the *History and Management of the East India Company*, has been, with caution, followed, together with *Robson's Life of Hyder Ali*, corrected from authentic MSS. by Mr. Grant.—M.
 A more authentic and accurate account is to be found in Col. Wilks's *Historical Sketches of the South of India*.—W

1767, the Directors exclaimed against a renewal of the restriction, as transferring the powers of the Company to parliament, subverting the privileges of their charter, and rendering insecure the property of every commercial and corporate body in the kingdom. They even presented to parliament a petition, in which these arguments were vehemently enforced, and so well by this time were they represented in that assembly, that a sufficiency of orators was not wanting, who in both Houses supported their claims. Opposite views, notwithstanding, prevailed, and an act was passed to prevent the increase of the dividend beyond ten per cent till the 1st day of February, 1769

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1769

Before the expiration of this term, the Company, who were anxious to evade the question respecting the public claim to the sovereignty of the Indian territory, very assiduously negotiated with the minister a temporary arrangement. After a great deal of conference and correspondence, an act was passed, in April, 1769, to the following effect. That the territorial revenues in India should be held by the Company for five years to come, that in consideration of this benefit they should pay into the exchequer 400,000*l* every year, that, if the revenues allowed, they might increase the dividend, by augmentations not exceeding one per cent. in one year, to twelve and a half per cent, that if, on the other hand, the dividend should fall below ten per cent, the payment into the exchequer should obtain a proportional reduction, and entirely cease if the dividend should decline to six per cent, that the Company should, during each year of the term, export British merchandise, exclusive of naval and military stores, to the amount of 380,837*l*, and that when they should have paid their simple contract debts bearing interest, and reduced their bonded debt to an equality with their loans to government, they should add to these loans the surplus of their receipts at an interest of two per cent¹. This agreement between the public and the Company was made, it is obvious, upon the same supposition, that of a great surplus revenue, upon which succeeding agreements have been made, and with the same result.

In the meantime, the grievous failure in the annual trea-

¹ Act 9, Geo III c 24

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CHAP. IX.

1772.

the time when it was assigned, deprived them of all powers of juridical coercion with regard to Europeans over the wide extent of territory of which they now acted as the sovereigns. They possessed, indeed, the power of suing or prosecuting Englishmen in the Courts of Westminster but under the necessity of bringing evidence from India, this was a privilege more nominal than real.

One object, therefore, of the present bill was to obtain authority for sending a chief justice with some puisne judges, and an attorney-general, according to the model of the Courts of England, for the administration of justice throughout the territory of the Company.

The next object was, the regulation of the trade. The author of the motion, the Deputy Chairman of the Company represented it as a solecism in politics, and monstrous in reason, that the governors of any country should be merchants and thus have a great temptation to become the only merchants, especially in those articles which were of most extensive and necessary consumption, and on which, with the powers of government, unlimited profits might be made. It was, therefore, proposed that the Governors and Councils, and the rest of the Company's servants, should be debarred from all concern in trade. But it neither occurred to the Deputy Chairman, nor was it pressed upon his notice by any other member of the legislative body that the argument against the union of trade and government was equally conclusive, applied to the Company as applied to their servants to those who held the powers of government in the first instance, as to those who held them by delegation and at will.

It was in the debate upon this motion that Lord Clive made the celebrated speech, in which he vindicated his own conduct against the charges to which, as well from authority as from individuals, it had been severely exposed. He spared not the character either of his fellow-servants, or of the Directors. "I attribute the present situation of our affairs," he said, "to four causes a relaxation of government in my successors great neglect on the part of administration notorious misconduct on the part of the Directors and the violent and outrageous proceedings of general courts. To hear his account, no one would believe that any creature who had ever had any thing to do

with the government had ever behaved well but himself BOOK IV
 It was much easier for him, however, to prove that his CHAP IX.
 conduct was liable to no peculiar blame, than that it was
 entitled to extraordinary applause With great audacity,
 both military and political, fortunately adapted to the
 scene in which he acted, and with considerable skill in the
 adaptation of temporary expedients to temporary exigen-
 cies, he had no capacity for a comprehensive scheme, in-
 cluding any moderate anticipation of the future, and it
 was the effect of his shortsighted regulations, and of the
 unfounded and extravagant hopes he had raised, with
 which the Company were now struggling on the verge of
 ruin, and on account of which the conduct both of them
 and of their servants was exposed to far more than its due
 share of obloquy and condemnation

1772

The suspicions of the nation were now sufficiently roused
 to produce a general demand for investigation, and on the
 13th of April a motion was made and carried in the House
 of Commons for a select Committee to gratify the public
 desire The bill which had been introduced by the De-
 puty Chairman was thrown out on the second reading, to
 afford time for the operations of the Committee, and par-
 liament was prorogued on the 10 of June

During the recess, took place the extraordinary disclo-
 sure of the deficiency of the Company's funds, their solici-
 tation of loans from the Bank, and their application for
 support to the Minister He received their proposals with
 coldness, and referred them to parliament That assem-
 bly was convened on the 26th of November, much earlier,
 as the King from the throne informed them, than had been
 otherwise intended, to afford them an opportunity of tak-
 ing cognizance of the present condition of the East India
 Company The Minister had already come to the resolu-
 tion of acceding to the request of the Directors, it there-
 fore suited his purpose to affirm that how great soever the
 existing embarrassment, it was only temporary, and a
 Committee of Secrecy was appointed, as the most effectual
 and expeditious method for gaining that knowledge of
 the subject from which it was proper that the measures
 of parliament should originate

Among the expedients which the urgency of their affairs
 had dictated to the Company, a new commission of super-

BOOK IV the Judges, those struggles which threatened the existence
 CHAP. IX. of English authority

1772.

So long, on the other hand, as the Governor-general and Council remained exempt from the control of law the great oppressors were safe; and, from the community of interests, and the necessity of mutual compliance and mutual concealment, between the high offenders and the low impunity was pretty well secured to the class.

The grand source, however of mischief to the natives, in the jurisprudential plan, was the unfortunate inattention of its authors to the general principles of law detached from its accidental and national forms. As the vulgar of every nation think their language the natural one, and all others arbitrary and artificial so, a large mass of Englishmen consider English law as the pure extract of reason, adapted to the exigencies of human nature itself and are wholly ignorant that, for the greater part, it is arbitrary technical, and ill-adapted to the general ends which it is intended to serve; that it has more of singularity and less capacity of adaptation to the state of other nations, than any scheme of law to be found in any other civilized country. The English law which in general has neither definition nor words, to guide the discretion or circumscribe the license of the Judge, presented neither rule nor analogy in cases totally altered by diversity of ideas, manners, and pre-existing rights and the violent efforts which were made to bend the rights of the natives to a conformity with the English laws, for the purpose of extending jurisdiction, and gratifying a pedantic and mechanical attachment to the arbitrary forms of the Westminster courts, produced more injustice and oppression and excited more alarm, than probably was experienced, through the whole of its duration, from the previous imperfection of law and judicature.

Mr Burke, in the Fourth Report of the Select Committee, in 1783, says, The defect in the institution seemed to be this; that no rule was laid down, either in the act or the charter by which the Court was to judge. No descriptions of offenders, or species of delinquency were properly ascertained, according to the nature of the place, or to the prevalent mode of abuse. Provision was made for the administration of justice in the remotest part of Hindostan, as if it were province in Great Britain. Your Committee have long had the constitution and conduct of this Court before them, and they have as yet been able to discover very few instances (not one that appears to them of leading importance) of relief given to the natives against the corruptions or oppressions of British subjects in power—So far as your Com-

II If, towards the amelioration of the government in India, the new effort in legislation performed no more than this, it injured, rather than improved, the condition of both the Company and the natives. Against the government at home, the only objection, of any real moment, was its inefficiency as the ruling power to produce, by means of its servants a good government in India, or, what in this case was meant by good government, a large surplus of revenue or treasure to England, without oppression to the natives. The total change which was effected in the Constitution of the Company pretended to have for its End the improvement and perfection of the Company in that respect and it employed as its whole and only Means, dependence upon the Minister.

If the Minister had more knowledge of the affairs in India, more leisure to devote to their management, and more interest in their being well managed, this was an improvement. If he had less knowledge, less leisure, and, far above all, if his interest was likely to be most promoted by that system of patronage which creates dependence, and which is at irreconcilable enmity with the very principle of good government, the change was wholly the reverse. How dependence upon the Minister was to render the agents of government more faithful and economical stewards of the revenues in India, or less disposed to accumulate wealth at the expense of the prostrate natives, it is not easy to make appear. In regard to responsibility, or eventual punishment, the only caution was, to act in concert with the minister, and then they were out of all comparison more assured of impunity than before.

From dependence upon the Court of Proprietors, by annual elections, to render the Directors in a great degree independent of their constituents by elections in four years, gave them greater powers, and hence motives, to pursue their own interests at the expense of the Proprietors, but that it should increase their interest in the good government of India, and hence their motives for exertion to procure it, is impossible.

mittee have been able to discover, the Court has been generally terrible to the natives, and has distracted the government of the Company, without substantially reforming any one of its abuses."

BOOK IV the Judges, those struggles which threatened the existence
 CHAP. IX. of English authority

1778.

So long, on the other hand, as the Governor-general and Council remained exempt from the control of law the great oppressors were safe and, from the community of interests, and the necessity of mutual compliance and mutual concealment, between the high offenders and the low impunity was pretty well secured to the class

The grand source, however of mischief to the natives, in the jurisprudential plan, was the unfortunate inattention of its authors to the general principles of law detached from its accidental and national forms. As the vulgar of every nation think their language the natural one, and all others arbitrary and artificial so, a large mass of Englishmen consider English law as the pure extract of reason, adapted to the exigencies of human nature itself and are wholly ignorant that, for the greater part, it is arbitrary technical, and ill-adapted to the general ends which it is intended to serve; that it has more of singularity and less capacity of adaptation to the state of other nations, than any scheme of law to be found in any other civilized country. The English law which in general has neither definition nor words, to guide the discretion or circumscribe the license of the Judge, presented neither rule nor analogy in cases totally altered by diversity of ideas, manners, and pre-existing rights; and the violent efforts which were made to bend the rights of the natives to a conformity with the English laws, for the purpose of extending jurisdiction, and gratifying a pedantic and mechanical attachment to the arbitrary forms of the Westminster courts, produced more injustice and oppression and excited more alarm, than probably was experienced, through the whole of its duration, from the previous imperfection of law and judicature.¹

¹ Mr Burke, in the Ninth Report of the Select Committee, in 1783, says, "The defect in the institution seemed to be this; that no rule was laid down, either in the act or the charter by which the Court was to judge. If descriptions of offenders, or species of delinquency were properly ascertained, according to the nature of the place, or to the prevalent mode of abuse. Provision was made for the administration of justice in the remotest part of Hindostan, as if it were provinces in Great Britain. Your Committee have long had the constitution and conduct of this Court before them, and they have as yet been able to discover very few instances (not one that appears to them of leading importance) of rebel given to the natives against the sorcery or oppressions of British subjects in power.—So far as your Com-

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BOOK IV
CHAP IX
1773

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BOOK IV

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1773.

From the year 1744, the period to which in a former passage¹ is brought down the account of the dividend paid annually to the Proprietors on the capital stock, that payment continued at eight per cent. to the year 1766, in which it was reduced to six per cent. It continued at that low rate till Christmas, 1766, when it was raised by the General Court, repugnant to the sense of the Court of Directors, to five per cent. for the next half year. On the 7th of May 1767 it was resolved in the General Court, that for the following half year the dividend should be six and a quarter per cent. But this resolution was rescinded by act of parliament, and the dividend limited, till further permission, to ten per cent. per annum. It was continued at ten per cent. till the year commencing at Christmas, 1769, when, in pursuance of the new regulations, it was advanced to eleven per cent. The next year it rose to twelve per cent. The following year it was carried to its proscribed limits, twelve and a-half per cent. at which it continued for eighteen months, when the funds of the Company being totally exhausted, it was suddenly reduced to six per cent. per annum, by a resolution passed on the 3d of December 1772.*

In the interval between 1774 and 1772, the sales at the India House had increased from about 2,000,000*l.* to 3,000,000*l.* annually their annual exports, including both goods and stores, had fully doubled. In the year 1761, the total amount of shipping in the service of the Company was 38,441 tons in the year 1772 it was 61,860.

that of tenant on lease, and the occupant of an estate in which he has more than passing interest, may equitably expect an equivalent for permanent improvements — W

¹ *Seymour*, vol. iii. p. 26.

See the Third and Eighth Reports of the Committee of Secrecy in 1773. Fifth Report of the Committee of Secrecy

BOOK V



FROM THE FIRST GREAT CHANGE IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, IN 1773, TILL THE SECOND GREAT CHANGE BY THE ACT COMMONLY CALLED MR. PITT'S ACT, IN 1784

CHAPTER I

Administration of Hastings till the Time when the Parliamentary Members of the Council arrived and the Operations of the New Constitution commenced, including—Arrangements for collecting the Revenue and administering Justice ostensibly as Dewan—Treatment of Mohammed Reza Khan and the Raja Shitab Roy—Elevation of Munny Begum—Destruction of the Rohillas—Sale of Corah and Allahabad to the Vizir—Payment refused of the Emperor's Revenue—Financial Results

BY the new parliamentary authority, Mr Hastings was appointed Governor-General, and General Claveling, Colonel Monson, Mr Barwell, and Mr Francis, the members of Council, not removable, except by the King, upon representation made by the Court of Directors, during the period assigned in the act. Mr Hastings had ascended with reputation through the several stages of the Company's service, possessed the rank of a member of Council at the time of Mr Vansittart's administration, and generally concurred in the measures which the party opposed to that Governor so vehemently condemned. After a visit to his native country, to which he proceeded at the same time with Vansittart, he returned to India in 1769, to fill the station of second in council at Madras, and in the beginning of 1772 was raised to the highest situation in the service of the Company, being appointed to succeed Mr Cartier in the government of Bengal.

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granted to the ryots which enumerated all the claims to which they were to be subject and forbade, under penal ties, every additional exaction. When the Zemindars, and other middlemen of ancient standing, offered for the lands which they had been accustomed to govern, terms which were deemed reasonable, they were preferred when their offers were considered as inadequate, they were allowed a pension for their subsistence, and the lands were put up to sale.

While the settlement, in other words the taxation of the country was carrying into execution upon this plan, the principal office of revenue, or *Khalas*, underwent a total revolution. So long as the veil of the native government had been held up, this office had been stationed at Moorshedabad, and was ostensibly under the direction of the sort of minister of revenue, whom, with the title of *Naib Dewan*, the President and Council had set up. It was now resolved to transfer this great office from Moorshedabad to Calcutta; and to place it under the immediate superintendence of the government. The whole Council were constituted a Board of Revenue, to sit two days in the week, or if necessary more. The Members of the Council were appointed to act as auditors of accounts, each for a week in rotation. The office of *Naib Dewan*, which had been held by Mohammed Reza Khan at Moorshedabad, and by Shitab Roy at Patna, was abolished but a native functionary or assistant dewan, under the title of *Roy royas*, was appointed to act in the *Khalas*, as superintendent of the district dewans, to receive the accounts in the Bengal language, to answer interrogatories, and to make reports.

The fundamental change in that great and leading branch of Indian administration which concerned the revenue, rendered indispensable a new provision for the administration of justice. The Zemindar who was formerly the great fiscal officer of a district, commonly exercised both civil and criminal jurisdiction within the territory over which he was appointed to preside. In his Prouduary or criminal court, he inflicted all sorts of penalties

Extract of Proceedings, Sixth Report, *ut supra*. See also Sixth Report of the Select Committee of 1782, Appendix, No. I.; Colclough's Supplement to Digest of Bengal Regulations, p. 174—180; and the Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons, in 1818, p. 4, &c.

chiefly fines for his own benefit even capital punishments, under no further restraint than that of reporting the case at Moorshedabad before execution In his Adaulut, or civil court, he decided all questions relating to property, being entitled to a chout, or twenty-five per cent., upon the subject of litigation His discretion was guided or restrained by no law, except the Koran, its commentaries, and the customs of the country, all in the highest degree loose and indeterminate Though there was no formal and regular course of appeal from the Zemindary decisions, the government interfered in an arbitrary manner, as often as complaints were preferred, to which, from their own importance, or from the importance of those who advanced them, it conceived it proper to attend To the mass of the people these courts afforded but little protection The expense created by distance, excluded the greater number from so much as applying for justice, and every powerful oppressor treated a feeble tribunal with contempt The judges were finally swayed by their hopes and their fears, by the inclinations of the men who could hurt or reward them Their proceedings were not controlled by any written memorial or record. In cases relating to religion, the Cauzee and Brahmen were called to expound, the one the Moslem, the other the Brahmenical law, and their opinion was the standard of decision Originally, questions of revenue as well as others belonged to the courts of the Zemindars, but a few years previous to the transfer of the revenues to the English, the decision of fiscal questions had been taken from the Zemindar, and given to an officer styled the Naib Dewan, or fiscal Deputy, in each province

Beside the tribunals of the districts, the capital was provided with two criminal courts, in one of which, called Roy adaulut, the Nazim, as supreme magistrate, tried capital offences, in another, a magistrate called the Phoujdar tried offences of a less penal description, and reported his proceedings to the Nazim At the capital was also found the principal dewanee or fiscal court in which the Dewan tried causes relating to the revenue, including all questions of title to land All other civil causes were tried at the capital in the court of the Darogah-i-adaulut-al-alea, except those of inheritance and

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1772.

arrangement taken or rather is it necessary to *ask*, why some arrangement was not taken to prevent the suspension of the judicial and every branch of the executive government, before the officer was arrested on whom all these great operations depended !

The Raja Shitab Roy held the same office at Patna, for the province of Bahar as was held by Mohammed Reza Khan at Moorsshedabad, for that of Bengal. Because Mohammed Reza Khan was arrested, and sent to Calcutta for his trial, and because, as holding the same office, it seemed proper that they should both share the same fate, Shitab Roy was in like fashion arrested, and sent to his trial.

Ahteram-al-dowlah was a surviving brother of Jaffier Ali Khan, the deceased Subahdar the uncle of the young Nabob, the eldest existing male, and hence the natural guardian, of the family on this ground he presented a petition to "the Gentlemen," praying that he might be appointed to the vacant office of Nasibut Nizamut in other words, be chosen Naib under the Nizam.

The Directors, though resolved not to be any longer Dewan under a cloak were yet eager to preserve the supposed benefit of clandestinity, in the other department of the Subahdaree, the Nizamut.³ The servants in India declared their full concurrence in the wisdom of that policy. But they conceived that for this purpose such an officer as

It is here forgotten that plan for the collection of the revenues, and the administration of civil justice, and of criminal justice, in the first instance, had been devised, which rendered the interposition of the Naib no longer necessary; the Committee speak of the office as originally constituted, not as now, in great degree superseded by the English regulations.—W

³ Though we have not doubt but that by the exertion of your abilities, and the care and assiduity of our servants in the superintendency of the revenues, the collections will be conducted with more advantage to the Company and ease to the natives, than by means of Naib Dewans; we are fully sensible of the expediency of supporting some ostensible minister in the Company's interest at the Nabob's court, to transact the political affairs of the Circuit and intercourse between the Company and the subjects of any European power in all cases wherein they may thwart our interest, or encroach on our authority. Letter from the Court of Directors to the President and Council at Fort William, 26th August, 1771 Minutes, at supra, p. 373.

The Committee are fully sensible of the expediency recommended by the Honourable Court of Directors, of holding out the authority of the country government to the European powers, in all cases wherein their interests may interfere with those of the Company. Consultation, 11th July 1772, Minutes, at supra, p. 373. M. Hastings, in his letter, 24th March, 1774, seems to have questioned altogether the wisdom of clandestinity. There can be but one government, and one power in this province. Even the pretensions of the Nabob may prove a source of great embarrassment, when he is of age to claim his release from the present state of pillage which prevents his asserting them. Ibid. p. 303

the Naib Subah (so they styled the Naib of the Nazim) was neither necessary nor desirable, first, on account of the expense, next, the delegation of power, which could never be without a portion of danger. They resolved, therefore, that the office of Naib Subah should be abolished¹. That is to say, they resolved, that the main instrument of government, that on which the administration of justice, the whole business of police, and every branch of the executive government depended, should be taken away, and what did they substitute, for answering the same ends? The Courts of Review established at Calcutta might be expected to supply the place of the Naib of the Nazim, in respect to the administration of justice with respect to all the other branches of government, answerable for the happiness of between twenty and thirty millions of human beings, no substitution whatsoever was made so profound, for I acquit them on the score of intention, was the ignorance which then distinguished the English rulers of India, of what they owed to the people, over whom they ruled, and the fruit of whose labour, under the pretence of rendering to them the services of government, they took from them, and disposed of as they pleased¹. No doubt the duties of government, thus left without an organ, were in part, and irregularly, when they pressed upon them and could not be avoided, performed both by the President and Council, and by the servants distributed in the different parts of the country. But how imperfectly those services of government must have been rendered, for which no provision was made and which, as often as they were rendered, were rendered as works of supererogation by those who had other obligations to fulfil, it is unnecessary to observe.

Though so little was done for rendering to the people the services of government, there was another branch of the duties of the Naib Nazim, which met with a very different sort and style of attention. That was, in name, the superintendence of the education and household of the Nabob, in reality, the disbursement of the money, allotted for his state and support. This was a matter of prime importance, and was met with a proportional intensity of consideration and care. It would be unjust, however, to

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enjoy the dignity and pleasures of his capital when they hurried him into the field. The country of the Rohillas was the object of cupidity to both to the Emperor as an increase of his limited territory to the Mahrattas, as a field of plunder if not a permanent possession. Seharunpore, the jaghire of the late minister Nujub-ad-dowla, the Rohilla chief, who had served the royal family with so much fidelity and talent, and, in the absence of the Emperor had governed the city and province of Delhi for a number of years, lay most accessible. It was not, as the other possessions of the Rohillas, on the further side of the Ganges, but commenced under the Sewalle hills, at a distance of seventy miles from Delhi, and was terminated by the strong fortress of Ghose Ghur on the north, and by Sakertal on the east. The resumption of the government of Delhi, which had been possessed by Nujub-ad-dowla transmitted to his son Zabita Khan, and the idea of the resentment which that chief must have conceived upon this retrenchment of his power rendered him an object of apprehension to the Emperor and recommended to his approbation the project of commencing operations with the reductions of Seharunpore. The Mogul forces, which the Emperor accompanied in person, were commanded by Mirza Nujuf Khan, a native of Persia, who accompanied to Delhi Mirza Mohsan, the brother of Suffder Jung, the Nabob of Oude, when he returned from the embassy on which he had been sent to Nadir Shah, after his invasion of Hindustan. Mirza Nujuf was of a family said to be related to the Sophi sovereigns of Persia, and was held in confinement by the jealousy of Nadir. He and his sister were released at the intercession of the Hindustan ambassador when the sister became the wife of her deliverer and the brother accompanied them on their departure to Hindustan. After the death of his benefactor Mirza Nujuf adhered to the fortunes of his son, Mohammed Coollee Khan, Governor of Allahabad and when that unfortunate Prince was treacherously put to death by his cousin Supad-dowla, the son and successor of Suffder Jung, Nujuf Khan retired with a few followers into Bengal, and offered his services to Meer Cassim. When that Nabob fled for protection to the Nabob of Oude, whom Nujuf Khan, as the friend of Mohammed Coollee Khan, was afraid to trust

he departed into Bundelcund, and was received into employment by one of the chiefs of that country. Upon the flight of Suja-ad-dowla, after the battle of Buxar, Mirza Nujuf offered his services to the English; advanced claims to the government of Allahabad, was favourably received, and put in possession of a part of the country. But when the transfer of that district to the Emperor came to be regarded as a politic arrangement, the pretensions of Nujuf Khan were set aside, and, in the way of compensation, he was allowed a pension of two lacks of rupees from the English revenues, and recommended warmly to the Emperor. His talents and address raised him to a high station in the service of that enfeebled Sovereign, whom he accompanied, as commander of the forces, on his ill-fated expedition to Delhi.

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The united power of the Emperor and Mahrattas, Zabita Khan, though he made a spirited defence, was unable to withstand. He was overcome in battle, and fled across the Ganges, in hopes to defend what territories he possessed on the opposite side. He stationed parties of troops at the different fords, but this weakened his main body, Nujuf Khan gallantly braved the stream, and was followed by the Mahrattas, when Zabita Khan, despairing of success, fled to Pattignu, where he had deposited his women and treasures. The closeness with which he was pursued allowed not time sufficient to remove them, and they fell into the hands of the enemy, while Zabita Khan himself, with a few attendants, escaped to the camp of Suja-ad-dowla. His country, one of the most fertile districts in India, which had flourished under the vigorous and equitable administration of Nujub-ad-dowla, afforded a rich booty, which the Mahrattas wholly seized, and set at nought the outcries of the Emperor.

The Rohillas were now placed in the most alarming situation. We have already seen¹ that among those soldiers of fortune from the hardy regions of the North, who constantly composed the principal part of the Mogul armies, and, according to their talents and influence, procured themselves lands and governments in India, the Afghans had latterly occupied a conspicuous place, that a portion of this people, who took the name of Rohillas, had given

¹ Book iii chap. iv.

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was no better than an instrument in the hands of the Mahrattas. Of their power the first use was to extort from their prisoner a grant of the provinces of Corah and Allahabad, in which he had been established by the Ecglish. Having accomplished these events, they returned to the banks of the Ganges, which they made preparations to cross.

The Subahdar was now thrown into a state of the most violent alarm, and wrote repeated letters to the Bengal government to send a military force to his protection. He had neglected, or had been unable, to take any measures for placing the country of the Rohillas in a state of security. That people were now laid at the mercy of the Mahrattas, and would, he foresaw be compelled to join them, to avoid destruction. Zabita Khan had already thrown himself upon their mercy and he violently feared that the other chiefs would speedily follow his example. The Mahrattas, indeed, made great offers to the Rohillas. They would remit the greater part of the sums of which they had extorted the promise. They engaged to pass through the country without committing any depredations or molesting the ryots, and to grant all sorts of advantages provided the Rohillas would yield a free passage through their dominions into the territory of the Vizir¹. The Subahdar of Oude exerted himself to prevent that union of the Mahrattas and Rohillas the effects of which he contemplated with so much alarm. He moved with his army into that part of his country which was nearest to that of the Rohillas and held out to them whatever inducements he conceived most likely to confirm their opposition to the Mahrattas. He engaged to make effectual provision both for their present and future security and to remit, as Hafez Rahmet affirms, the forty lacks of rupees. Difficult as was the choice, the Rohillas thought it still less dangerous to rely upon the faith of the Subahdar than upon that of the Mahrattas and gaining what they could, by temporizing with that formidable people, they however declined all engagements with

¹ This is distinctly asserted in letter of Hafez Rahmet himself, addressed to the Gov. General; and it is too conformable to the state of the circumstances to be liable to any reasonable doubt. Fifth Report, xi *supra*, App. No. 18.

them, and actually joined their troops to those of the English and Subahdar¹

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1773

On the 7th of January, 1773, the Secret Committee at Calcutta entered into consultation on intelligence of these events, and thus recorded their sentiments "Notwithstanding the alarms of the Vizir, expressed in the foregoing letters, it does not clearly appear that the Mahiattas have acquired any accession of power, since, whatever advantage they derived from the sanction of the King's name, when he was independent, must now be either lost, or very much diminished, by their late rupture with him, by their having violently possessed themselves of his person, and then usurpation of his dominions" On the subject of the Rohillas, whom the Vizir, to increase the ardour of the English to send an army to his support, represented as actually connected with the Mahrattas, though he only dreaded that event, they remark, that instead of joining with the Mahrattas in an invasion of the territories of the Vizir, "It is still more probable that the Rohilla chiefs, who have sought their present safety in a treacherous alliance, *to which necessity compelled them*, with the Mahrattas, will, from the same principle, abandon their cause, or employ the confidence reposed in them to re-establish their own independence, rather than contribute to the aggrandizement of a power, *which in the end must overwhelm them*" With regard to the unhappy Shah Aulum, the humiliated Emperor of the Moguls, they remark "It is possible he may solicit our aid, and, in point of right, we should certainly be justified in affording it him, since no act of his could be deemed valid in his present situation, and while he continues a mere passive instrument in the hands of the Mahrattas but whether it would be politic to interfere, or whether, at this time especially, it would be expedient, must continue a doubt with us"² It is remarkable, that with regard to the most important of his acts—the surrender of Corah and Allahabad—so little did any one regard it as binding, that his deputy in these provinces, instead of delivering them up to the Mahrattas, applied to the English for leave to place them under their protection, "as the King, his master,

¹ See Sir Robert Barker's Letter, 23rd March, 1773, Ibid App No 18

² Fifth Report, ut supra, App No 18

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with which it was attended, it is necessary to give some account. The correspondence with the country powers had frequently been carried on through the military officers upon the spot. The power thus conveyed to the military Mr Hastings had represented as inconvenient, if not dangerous and one object of his policy had been to render the head of the civil government the exclusive organ of communication with foreign powers. He now stated to the Council the concurrence in opinion of the Vizir and himself, that an agent, permanently residing with the Vizir for the communication and adjustment of many affairs to which the intercourse of letters could not conveniently apply would be attended with important advantages and he urged the propriety of granting to himself the sole nomination of such an agent, the sole power of removing him, and the power of receiving and answering his letters, without communication either to the Committee or Council. To all these conditions the Council gave their assent and Mr Nathaniel Middleton, with an extra salary was sent as private agent to attend the residence of the Vizir and to communicate secretly with Mr Hastings.

The Vizir in the meantime, had made himself master of several places in the Doab. He advanced towards Delhi with a show of great friendship to the Emperor assisted him with money sent a force to assist his army in wresting Agra from the Jaets and, having thus laid a foundation for confidence, began to intrigue for his sanction to the intended attack upon Rohilcund. A treaty was negotiated, and at last solemnly concluded and signed, by which it was agreed that the Emperor should assist with his forces in the reduction of the Rohillas, and in return should receive a share of the plunder and one-half of the conquered country.

On the 18th of November about two months after their interview the Vizir wrote to the President, demanding the *promised assistance of the English for the destruction of the Rohillas*. Mr Hastings appears to have been thrown

Hastings' Report, App. No. 19 *ut supra*; Letter of 17th June, 1774, App. No. 23.

Franchin's *Shah Aslam*, p. 84. Letter of Col. Champion Fifth Report, *ut supra*, App. N. 45; and the treaty itself, App. No. 37. Scott's *Aurang zebe's Successors*, p. 229, 230.

into some embarrassment The suddenness and confidence of the call corresponded but indifferently with the terms on which he had given his colleagues to understand that the communication on this subject rested between him and the Vizir His abilities in making out a case, though singularly great, were unable to produce unanimity and it was not till after a long debate, that a decision in favour of the expedition was obtained The assistance was promised on the very terms concerted and settled between him and the Vizir, and yet this President had the art to persuade his colleagues, and joined with them in a declaration to their common masters, that these terms were so favourable to the English, and so burdensome to the Vizir, as to render his acceptance of them improbable, and therefore to leave but little chance of their involving the English Government in a measure which the principal conductors of that government were desirous to avoid.¹

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1774

In the month of January, 1774, the second of the three brigades into which the Company's army in Bengal was divided, received orders to join the Vizir, and Colonel Champion, now Commander-in-Chief, proceeded about the middle of February to assume the command On the 24th of February the brigade arrived within the territory of the Vizir, and, on the 17th of April, the united forces entered the Rohilla dominions On the 19th, Colonel Champion wrote to the Presidency, that the Rohilla leader, "had by letter expressed earnest inclinations to come to an accommodation with the Vizir, but that the Nabob claimed no less than *two crores* of rupees" After this extravagant demand, the Rohillas posted themselves on the side of Babul Nulla, with a resolution of standing their ground to the last extremity And early on the morning of the 23rd, the English advanced to the attack "Hafez," says the English General, with a generous esteem, "and his army, consisting of about 40,000 men, showed great bravery and resolution, annoying us with their artillery and rockets. They made repeated attempts to charge, but our guns, being so much better served than theirs, kept so constant and galling a fire, that they could not advance, and where they were closest, was the greatest slaughter They gave

¹ Fifth Report, at sup^r, App Nos 22, 23, 24, 25

BOOK V receipt. That for the year ending in April 1772, was
 CHAP. I. 2,16,88,538 rupees, equal to 2,373,050*l*.; that for the year
 1774 ending 1774, was 2,20,56,919 rupees, or 2,431,404*l*.¹ In the
 next great department of financial administration, the ex-
 pence of the civil and military services, instead of any
 retrenchment there had been an increase. In the year
 ending in 1772, the civil service is stated at 154,620*l* the
 marine at 52,161*l*, the military at 1164,348*l* and the
 total expense, exclusive of buildings and fortifications, at
 1,371,129*l*. In the year ending in 1774, the civil service
 is stated at 159,537*l*, the marine at 53,700*l*, the military
 at 1,304,883*l*, and the total at 1,518,120*l*. In the year
 1772, the proportion of the military expense, defrayed by
 the Nabob of Oude, was 20766*l*. In the year 1774, the
 proportion defrayed by him was 131,430*l*. In the follow-
 ing year that ending in April 1775, there was a slight im-
 provement in the collections which may in part be
 ascribed to the measures of the preceding administration
 and there was a total cessation of war which produced a
 reduction of the military expenditure, remarkable only for
 its minuteness. The gross collections amounted to
 2,87,20,760 rupees, the net receipt to 2,51,02,090, or
 2,823,964*l*. the civil service to 231,722*l*, the marine to
 36,510*l*, and the military to 1,080,304*l*; total, 1,349,536*l*
 and the proportion this year borne by the Nabob of Oude
 was 240,750*l*. It thus abundantly appears, that nothing
 so important as to deserve the name of improvement had
 arisen in the financial administration of the Company. A
 pecuniary relief had indeed been procured, but from sources
 of a temporary and very doubtful description partly from
 the produce of the bills drawn in such profusion upon the
 Company by the predecessor of Hastings partly from the
 reduction of the allowance to the Nabob of Bengal, from
 thirty-two to sixteen lacks but chiefly from the plunder
 of the unhappy Emperor of the Moguls, whose tribute of
 twenty-six lacks per annum for the dewannee of Bengal
 was withheld, and whose two provinces Corah and Allah-
 abad were sold for fifty lacks to the Vizir from the sale
 of the Rohillas, the extirpation of whom was purchased at

¹ Fifth Report, at supra, p. 7 and 28.

² Ibid. p. 28.

³ Ibid. p. 28.

⁴ Ibid. p. 2.

⁵ Ibid. p. 2.

⁶ Ibid. p. 41.

BOOK V

CHAP. II.

1775.

devolved. The minister leaves his office and ascendancy to his son the son makes it hereditary and the sovereign, divested of all but the name of king, sinks into an empty pageant. Such was the course of events in the case of the mayor of the palace in France, in that of the *Chu-ua* in Tunquin,¹ and such it was, besides other cases, in that of the Peshwa, among the Mahrattas. In the reign of the Raja Sahoo, who was but third in succession from Sivajee, Viswanath Balajee had raised himself from a low situation in life to the rank of Peshwa. Sahoo was a prince devoted to ease and to pleasure and the supreme powers were wielded, with little check or limitation, by Viswanath Balajee. He assumed the name of Rao Pundit, that is, chief of the Pundits, or learned Brahmens, and made the Raja invest him with a *sirpak*, or robe of office,² a ceremony which ever since has marked the succession of the Peshwas, and appeared to confer the title. Viswanath was able to leave his office and power to his son Bajerao who still further diminished the power of the sovereign and finally allowed him not so much as liberty. The Raja was confined to Satarah, a species of state prisoner while the Peshwa established his own residence at Poona, which henceforth became the seat of government. The brother of Bajerao, Jumnajee Anna, though a Brahmen, led the forces of the state he attacked the Portuguese settlements in the neighbourhood of Bombay and added Salsette and Bassein to the conquests of the Mahrattas. The family of the Peshwa prided themselves in these acquisitions affected to consider them as their own, rather than the property of the state and showed a violent attachment to them, as often as, either by force or negotiation, the alienation of them was attempted. The vicinity of these territories to the British settlements at Bombay brought the interests of the Company in contact with those of the Mahrattas and the terms of a commercial and maritime intercourse were somewhat inaccurately framed. Bajerao left a son, named Rao, who was slain in the battle of Paniput; and Jumnajee Anna, his brother left two sons, Nanah,

¹ See the *Exposé Statistique du Tonkin*, published in London, in 1811, from the papers of M. de la Rémisère, French missionary who had spent twenty six years in the country.

² The *Sirpa* is an honorary dress, not particularly a robe of office.—W

